Interview with The Honorable Ulric Haynes Jr., 2011

The Association for Diplomatic Studies and TrainingForeign Affairs Oral History Project

AMBASSADOR ULRIC HAYNES JR.

Interviewed by: Charles Stuart Kennedy

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Q: Today is the 20th of April, 2011. This is notable in that it is Hitler's birthday.

HAYNES: Oh (laughs)!

Q: And this is an interview with Ambassador Ulric Haynes Jr. And it's being done by telephone on behalf of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, and I'm Charles Stuart Kennedy. All right, and you go — what — what do you go by? Ulric or?

HAYNES: I go by Rick, R-I-C-K.

Q: OK. Well, Rick let's start at the beginning. When and where were you born?

HAYNES: I was born in Brooklyn, New York on June 8th, 1931. So I'm soon to be 80-years-old.

Q: Good, well welcome to the club. I'm 83 now.

HAYNES: Oh! We're the oldest men in the world!

Q: Ah, yes! OK. Well Rick, let's — let's talk — let's talk about on your father's side. What do you know about them?

HAYNES: My parents were both immigrants from Barbados, which was, at that time, the British West Indies. They came here in the first decade of the 20th century. They were naturalized citizens when I was born.

Q: All right. Well, what was your family up to back in Barbados, way back?

HAYNES: Well, they were landowners, small merchants, raised some sugarcane. They were not professional people.

Q: And what — were your mother and father married in Barbados?

HAYNES: No, they were married here in this country. My father and his family left Barbados at the turn of the century and went to live in Panama when they were constructing the Panama Canal.

Q: Oh yes.

HAYNES: And they set up a shop in Panama that catered to the large number of English-speaking Caribbean workers of color on the canal. They used those workers because the American engineers could not communicate in Spanish with the available Panamanian labor. My grandparents opened a shop that catered to those Caribbean laborers, all of whom were people of color. The necessity for that was because the naval commissary would not allow non-whites to purchase supplies, food, and clothes at the commissary. So, the West Indians had to go into the open market to buy. Those were the days of very rigid racial segregation in the U.S. Armed Services.

Q: And the Navy was even more rigid than most.

HAYNES: You're absolutely right. It was more rigid than the other branches of our military.

Q: Is your family of color?

HAYNES: Yes.

Q: Did you get any feel from your family and back about being of color on Barbados?

HAYNES: Oh yes, very definitely. And I still have family in Barbados so from childhood I've been going back and forth, except during World War II.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: Yes, in those days, up until I would say oh, after World War II, society in all of the British West Indies was pretty fairly segregated. There were signs, for example, at the entrance to the Royal Yacht Club in Bridgetown, Barbados that said, “No Dogs or Colored People Allowed.”

Q: Oh.

HAYNES: So yes, they grew up in a very racially segregated British colonial society. It was not as bad as it was over here in the United States because at least they didn't go around lynching people in the British West Indies. But, it was a segregated society.

Q: Well, did you get any feel for the school system and all?

HAYNES: On the island?

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: The school system always has been outstanding. In fact, even today Barbados has one of the highest rates of literacy in the world.

Q: Did your parents talk about, you know, life on the island with pleasure or?

HAYNES: They — oh, they remembered life on the island very pleasurably. Family life was very important and there was just not much interaction between the British colonial civil servants, and the local population on a social level. That didn't mean that people were suffering. They simply learned the rules of the game and they lived by those rules.

Q: Well, did your — after this time while the canal — the canal was finished in what, 1908 or something like that?

HAYNES: Something like that, yes. That was when my grandparents and father left Panama and came to the United States. My paternal grandparents were hired by the chief engineer of the canal, a man whose name, I'm sorry I cant remember his first name, was an Admiral Pratt. And he was from Belfast, Maine. He hired my grandparents as nanny for his children and butler for him. So that's how they came to the United States.

Q: So this was a Brooklyn navy yard, was it?

HAYNES: No, no, no. They went to Admiral Pratt's home in Belfast, Maine.

Q: Oh, they went to Belfast, Maine. Ah-ha. How long were they there?

HAYNES: Oh, I would say five to eight years and then they left and came to Brooklyn, New York, where there was already a growing Barbadian community.

Q: Are there any stories about their time in Maine?

HAYNES: Nothing that I recall but the fact that they constantly complained of the cold weather.

Q: (laughs) Oddly enough.

HAYNES: And my aunt, my father's sister, died of tuberculosis in Maine. So it was not a place of very happy memories.

Q: Well, and then your parents moved to —

HAYNES: My father.

Q: Your father.

HAYNES: Yes, my father and grandparents.

Q: What about your mother on her side? Did she come from a different background?

HAYNES: No, she came from a small landholder background as well.

Q: What about education?

HAYNES: My mother's family moved — for what reasons I cannot remember — to Maywood, Illinois when they came to this country. Maywood is a suburb of Chicago. And my mother graduated from Proviso Township High School in Maywood, Illinois. She, she had only a high school education. My father when he came down from Maine in his late teens attended the College of the City of New York, CCNY, for a while, but he did not get a degree.

Q: Considering the era, your parents have moved fairly far up the educational latter.

HAYNES: Yes, they did. For their time, yes.

Q: For their time. I'm still interviewing people who are say around, in the 80s or so, where their parents, neither parent is a college graduate, often not even a high school graduate.

HAYNES: Right.

Now, the interesting thing about my, my father particularly, even though he had some college, he was not able to get employment at that time in New York City commensurate with his education. And he went to work (and stayed until he retired) for the Socony Mobil Oil Company, now Exxon/Mobil, as a messenger. In those days, of course, even the telephone was new and everything was sent by messenger from office-to-office, and usually in handwriting. And my father was a messenger, as were many men of color.

Q: Oh yes.

HAYNES: Around the early part of the —

Q: To me, it's —

HAYNES: Along with jobs as Pullman porters on the railroads and, especially, sorting mail in the U.S. post office.

Q: Oh yes. Well, you know, people talk about having a salary job.

HAYNES: Yes.

Q: Which was a very prestigious thing.

HAYNES: Oh yes.

Q: Well, what about your mother? Was she a stay at home mother?

HAYNES: She was pretty much a stay at home mother. She added to the family income as a seamstress. And she, she made dresses for people and, at one time, even worked in the garment district in New York.

Q: Oh yeah.

HAYNES: And also during World War II, she worked in the naval clothing depot in Brooklyn, New York, in the Navy Yard.

Q: Were there other children in this family, and where did you rank if there were?

HAYNES: Well, I was — like almost all of my contemporaries, I was an only child. It was the height of the Depression when I was born and people just didn't have large families.

Q: Oh.

HAYNES: So I was — I was an only child.

Q: What was it like growing up? What sort of place did you live in and all, in Brooklyn?

HAYNES: Well, I started out life when my parents were living with my grandparents in my grandparents' home. And I'll never forget taking my own children many, many years later to see that home. And it was — it was tiny. I think we were nine people living in that home.

In the early 20th century, parts of Brooklyn were to New York City what Westchester County is today. Wealthy white families lived in elegant mansions on the main avenues. For example, the Underwood typewriter family lived there. And the Pratt family who founded Pratt Institute and Socony Mobil Oil Company with the Rockefellers. But, behind these grand mansions were little streets with smaller houses for the servants who worked in the mansions. And it was in one of these tiny houses that I was born, even though my — my family were not working as servants. By this time, these tiny houses were being sold off to low-income families. And what happened was that in these little houses behind the big houses, little West Indian communities formed. During my early childhood, I heard nothing but talk about “home” and it puzzled me, because when my elders spoke about “home” they were talking about Barbados and not about the place where we lived. And, and it's — as a kid, I remember being perplexed by this. I wondered why they kept talking about “home” when we're at “home” now. And all of our friends were people, if not from

Barbados they were from the other West Indian islands. It was a very insular community. And it was a community which placed a very, very high value on education. So all of us children of these immigrants were expected to excel in school and were certainly expected to go on to college. And this in the 1930s at a time when not many people of color were going to anything but segregated colleges; if at all.

By the way, these West Indian immigrants could not abide racial segregation, and would not think of sending their children to a segregated college in the South, what we call today a historically black college or university.

Q: Well, my impression is that the West Indian migration and all basically had very little to do with the southern blacks.

HAYNES: You're very right. The migration was not one designed to escape from racial discrimination or racial segregation. It was for economic reasons, primarily.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: And also, as a child growing up, I got more hassled by my young black American contemporaries, then by whites in Brooklyn, New York. There was an animosity — cultural animosity between blacks from the Caribbean and blacks from the American South.

Q: You still see that. I mean in my own business we had an assistant secretary, Barbara Watson, who, along with Colin Powell and others who came I think out of Jamaica.

HAYNES: Yeah.

Q: And obviously this was of, you know, I mean this is sort of an upper crust that was developed over the southern white — southern black.

HAYNES: The Caribbean black considered themselves an educated elite. And for example, as little kids, if we talked like — if we used the southern black vernacular that our American black neighbors were using, we were punished.

Q: Well, I can certainly see that. Well, I mean it's what distinguished you, in a way. I mean everybody has these markers.

HAYNES: Yes.

Q: And for your particular group, the language would certainly be the main marker.

HAYNES: Language and education. I mean everybody that I came in contact with was more than literate. They might not even have finished secondary school, but they were very literate and very well read.

Q: Well, I look at my own parents. Neither my mother nor father went to college. But boy, did they read.

HAYNES: Oh yeah.

Q: You know. Speaking of which, as a young kid, were you much of a reader?

HAYNES: Very much. I was, you know, especially being an only child, some of my best friends were books.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: I remember the biggest thrill in my life was getting my own library card to the local public library. And I can tell you, the first couple of years I brought home far more books — I brought home the maximum number of books I could. I think it was six. And even though I couldn't — there was no way that I could finish them in the two-week lending period or whatever it was. Books were very prized.

Q: Do you recall, I mean, particularly your earlier years up through elementary school, any particular books or series that particularly grabbed you?

HAYNES: Yes. I, I loved all the books by Herman Melville.

Q: Oh yes.

HAYNES: Especially those that had to do with the South Pacific.

Q: Oh, Typee and —

HAYNES: “Typee” and “Omoo”, oh I devoured them and re-devoured them and devoured them again.

Q: How about Jack London?

HAYNES: And I didn't — not Jack —

Q: Because he wrote about the South Seas too.

HAYNES: No, but Melville spoke to me for some reason.

Q: Oh. Well, you couldn't do better than that.

HAYNES: No siree.

Q: OK, as a kid in Brooklyn, let's think again up through elementary school. Before we turn to school itself, what was it like? Were you sort of after class turned loose in the streets and?

HAYNES: No — well, no, no, no. It was — it was a very different generation. And even though I grew up in what were subsequently to become segregated — racially segregated neighborhoods, I grew up in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area.

Q: Oh my God, yes. That later became notorious.

HAYNES: Yes. Well, at that time it was a neighborhood in transition. And I had as many white neighbors as I did neighbors of color. And my playmate were of both races. My classmates in elementary school were of both races. And an interesting thing that shocks current generations of young blacks is that, in all of my schooling from kindergarten through law school, I never had a black teacher. I grew up in a time when teaching positions for black people were very hard to come by.

Q: yeah.

HAYNES: So all of my teachers were white.

Q: And probably most of them were Jewish.

HAYNES: Not at all! I would say Irish.

Q: Irish.

HAYNES: Irish and German where I was.

Q: Ah-ha.

HAYNES: It wasn't until I got to high school that I began to — well, I — when I went to high school, we were a student body of 3,000 students and only two of us were black. The other 2,998 were overwhelmingly Jewish. And as a result, when the Jewish holidays would come we two black students took them off along with everybody else. In fact, there were no teachers there either. So my secondary school education was very strongly influenced by Jewish refugee families from Nazi Germany in Europe.

Q: Well, let's go back to the elementary school.

HAYNES: Yeah.

Q: First place, was your family religious and what religious if so?

HAYNES: They came to this country as staunch members of the Church of England, and they were practicing Episcopalians.

Q: Was that an important element in your life?

HAYNES: Not so much, because from a very early age I developed a distaste for Sunday school. It ruined my after church fun. And I was not very happy with it. I did get confirmed as Episcopalian, but no, it wasn't. But, it was an important social part of our family's life.

Q: How about in politics? Where'd your mother and father and maybe the rest far into the political spectrum?

HAYNES: Well, my father, to my utter horror, as a young man growing up and becoming politically aware in high school and certainly in college, was, was a staunch Republican. And although in later life I was able to persuade him to vote Democrat while registering as a Republican. And, and he did so not just to please me, but he was convinced also that the Democrats were more interested in issues of concern to him than the Republicans.

Q: First place, coming from the islands, was music important to you?

HAYNES: Enormously important. My father's wedding gift to my mother was a baby grand piano.

Q: Oh boy!

HAYNES: I mean, and that must have taken a hell of a lot of money at the height of the Depression.

Q: God yes.

HAYNES: And that piano stayed in the family, well, until my parents' death. And my mother became quite an accomplished pianist, and tried to impose piano lessons — in fact, did impose piano lessons on me so that I could play the piano fairly well. But music was a very, very important part of our, our life.

Q: Although I realize it's more from Trinidad, was there calypso coming out of your area?

HAYNES: We were — our family loved calypso. All the more so because they were — because of their timely commentary, they were hilarious. I mean there were calypsos absolute every important world event. I remember there was a calypso about the abdication of King Edward VIII and his marriage to that Simpson woman. And as a matter of fact, I do remember vividly my grandparents huddled around the radio to listen to the Edward VIII abdication message, with tears rolling down their faces. I didn't understand it. I didn't understand what it was all about, but later on I recognized that, you know, for all their American citizenships they were still royalists!

Q: Oh yes. What about after school? What were you kids up to?

HAYNES: We were —

Q: In elementary school.

HAYNES: We were up to playing in the street, playing street games. But those were the days when the street was not a dangerous place. I mean there weren't that many automobiles coming through the streets of Brooklyn at that time. I believe there were maybe four family-owned automobiles on our block. And it was — and it was also before the days when, when families put their older people into nursing homes. So there was always an old lady leaning out of a window or sitting on a stoop who kept an eye on everybody.

Q: (laughs)

HAYNES: We were, I think they called us “latch key kids.”

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: We all had the key to our family apartment, home, whatever it was, so we could get in. But there were neighbors around who kept an eye on us and kept us out of trouble.

Q: I'm coming from the same generation, and I remember. Well, it worked very well.

HAYNES: It did.

Q: We improvised baseball games —

HAYNES: Oh yeah.

Q: — various things, and you know, and everybody had to go home at 6:30 or 6:00 for dinner.

HAYNES: You got it.

Q: I mean that was —

HAYNES: You got it. And, and I remember to this day, we used to play games, I don't — and of course the games were played in the suburbs and in the rural areas were a little different. But in New York City we played stickball —

Q: Mm-hmm.

HAYNES: — with a tennis ball and a broomstick and — a cut off broomstick. And we played Ringolevio, Johnny on the Pony, Skelly with bottle tops. There were a whole host

of games that were played in the city that today's generation of young people have no idea about.

Q: How about at home? You had quite a large family, I mean extended family at your home, didn't you?

HAYNES: Yeah. Until I was about five-years-old. And then, then my parents moved into an apartment of their own and there were just the three of us.

Q: Well, did you sit around — were there sort of family discussions over the dinner table and that sort of thing?

HAYNES: Yes, but I, I grew up in the era of children are to be seen and not heard.

Q: Mm-hmm.

HAYNES: So I could listen, and I learned a lot by keeping my mouth shut and listening, but I — I rarely, if ever, participated. And we lived in a house with grown up cousins and so forth, and friends, among the nine people in our home. I was never allowed to call anyone by their first name. It was Aunt Mary and Uncle Joe, but never Mary and Joe. And if I dared to call them by their first names, that was an occasion for serious punishment.

Q: Was World War II — you were still kind of young, but you were old enough for, for, you know, to be picking up things. Did that play much of a role in your —

HAYNES: Yes. I mean for — up until I was about 10-years-old, more — I guess 12 even — I had never known anything — most of my life war was raging. I mean there were wars — I was acutely aware of the Sino-Japanese War and Spanish Civil War, wars that you ask students about today and they draw a blank. And of course World War II. I had cousins who went off to war, older second cousins.

Q: Well, one of the things I found, for example, I became addicted to maps and I could, you know, find obscure places —

HAYNES: Right.

Q: — you know, all the, the islands, the various places, and Russia and, you know, in south — North Africa and all that.

HAYNES: Well, you know, I think — you're absolutely right. But I got that information from doctor's offices where I poured over the National Geographic magazines. And they became my buddy. When I was old enough to travel on the New York subway alone I would take a quarter — it would take me 10 cents, a nickel going and a nickel coming to travel on the subway. And I would go over to the 3rd Avenue secondhand bookstores in Manhattan where I could pick up old National Geographics for a nickel.

Q: Ah.

HAYNES: And I'd come home with three of them. I'd take 15 cents of my quarter to buy them.

Q: Oh yes.

HAYNES: And, and that's how I learned — well, I attribute those magazines to my interest in things international. They were my teachers with their pictures of exotic places. Oh my goodness.

Q: Oh yeah. Well, National Geographic, and the maps you could get from them too.

HAYNES: And the maps, yes. Oh, I was terrific at geography, and history even, because of those National Geographics.

Q: Also, National Geographic, at least for me, was my first glimpse of bare breasts of Balinese women, which I thought very —

HAYNES: Ha, he, ha! I remember my grandmother snatching a National Geographic away from me and saying that they were not for me to look at.

Q: (laughs) Oh yes. How about in elementary school? What were your favorite and least favorite courses?

HAYNES: Well, let me think. In elementary school, reading and English were my favorites. Math was my least favorite. Geography was another favorite. Oh, I loved geography. We didn't get into history until I got into secondary school.

Q: Where was your elementary school?

HAYNES: It was within a short walk of our home in Brooklyn.

Q: What was the name of it?

HAYNES: It had no name. In New York City in those days, they gave numbers to elementary schools. Ours was Public School 70.

Q: Ah-ha. Well —

HAYNES: I'll never forget, our principal — many of our teachers in that public school were of German or Irish descent. Our principal was Mr. Hoenekamp. And our music teacher was Miss Schreiber. In each of my schools there was at least one teacher who served as a mentor to me, and who guided me through my studies in a way that allowed me to go to an outstanding high school and then to Amherst College and Yale University. Were it not for those teachers, who at an early age took an interest in me regardless of my race, and they were all white, I wouldn't have made it in the world as I did.

Q: Do you recall the names of any of these teachers? Let's stick to elementary school because I like to have them mentioned in this oral history.

HAYNES: I remember my first grade teacher was a Miss Brown. My second grade teacher was a Miss Wynn. My fifth grade teacher was a Miss Fitzgerald. And then of course I remember vividly all of my teachers in high school.

Q: Well, where did you go to high school?

HAYNES: I went to Midwood High School, in a predominantly upper middle class Jewish neighborhood in Flatbush, Brooklyn. And it was a fortunate choice because the families of the students who went there, as I said being predominantly Jewish refugees had inculcated in their children that academic excellence was the only way that they were going to make it in our country. So, the pursuit of academic excellence became the norm. And it became something that I pursued, along with my classmates.

Q: Could you meld into this Jewish predominant group?

HAYNES: Yes (laughs). It's funny. So much so, that to this day there are many — I don't speak Yiddish fluently, but there are many Yiddish expressions that come to mind for certain situations. My nickname among my, my Jewish friends and their families was “schoene schwartze” (good looking black guy). “Schwartz,” of course in Yiddish and German for black.

So I was the good-looking black kid.

Q: (laughs) Because I'm sure —

HAYNES: I wore that title with pride throughout my years in high school.

Q: What about dating in high school?

HAYNES: Mmmm, I socialized with my Jewish peers. But, I didn't date across racial lines, no.

Q: In elementary school you mentioned that there wasn't much in the way of history taught early on, but what about high school?

HAYNES: Oh yes.

Q: Any particular —

HAYNES: We were especially interested in current history. The reconstruction of Europe and the creation of the State of Israel, Zionism was something with which I was very familiar. And of course, civil rights. It was not yet a period of, of civil rights activism. But, I was acutely aware of, of racial segregation. My parents often discussed it at home. And it, it became something that I was almost instinctively dedicated to ending.

Q: Particularly the refugee groups there, did — were you picking up — did this connect you more, you might say to European history and what was happening there, as well as Israel than probably you would have gotten somewhere else?

HAYNES: Yes, indeed. Yes, indeed. And that also stimulated my first trip to Europe, which came in 1951 when Europe was still recovering from World War II. And I'll never forget the evidence of destruction that I saw in France, in Denmark, in Norway and in Germany. It was a sobering and a maturing experience.

Q: Did you get involved in extra curricular activities?

HAYNES: Oh lots. Yes, indeed.

Q: What sort of things?

HAYNES: Oh, debating, dramatics, student government. I was actually elected president of my graduating senior class in high school.

Q: Were there attempts to get the students involved in any particular political things or? Was this — this is still Eisenhower period, which was relatively quiet.

HAYNES: Well, yes. We students were anything but conservative. It was a heyday of the Labor Union Movement. And the parents of many of the students were members of labor unions. We were very conscious — or I was very conscious — of economic class differences and at home I was made conscious of the prevailing racial discrimination.

Q: Well, many of the Jewish immigrants came out of Europe and sort of European socialism, was that — and very much involved in that particular — particularly in the New York area. That particular, when I say political —

HAYNES: I wouldn't say that there were many of the students who were socialist. In fact, I doubt that many of them knew or even wanted to know what it meant, or even what, what communism was about. But we had a very strong sense of and dedication to social service and the social welfare.

Q: Mm-hmm.

HAYNES: But I wouldn't call it socialism.

Q: Yeah. Well, did you have any idea of where you wanted to go when you graduated from high school?

HAYNES: Well, yes. I definitely knew that I wanted to go to college. And it was thanks to one of my father's — remember, I told you my father was a messenger for the Socony-Vacuum Oil Company. One of the executives in the division that he worked in, which was Marine Sales, was a member of the Pratt family that had founded the company along with

the Rockefellers. And the Pratts were major benefactors of Amherst College. And one day Mr. Pratt asked my father, “Hey, what about your son? Isn't he about ready to go to college?”

And Dad said, “Yes.”

And he said, “Well, where's he thinking of going?”

And my father said, “Well, City College, Brooklyn College, maybe Howard University.”

And Mr. Pratt said, “What? Never.” He said, “He's going to go to Amherst College.” He was very fond of my father. And you know, Mr. Pratt made it happen. I went to Amherst with a full scholarship.

Q: Wow.

HAYNES: I never knew whether he — although I suspected it — contributed to the payment of my tuition, room, and board, but I did get that full scholarship, which I hadn't even applied for. And the rest is history.

Q: Well, you went to Amherst. When did you start there?

HAYNES: 1948.

Q: And you graduated in '52?

HAYNES: Mm-hmm.

Q: What was Amherst like when you arrived? I mean this is a different world, wasn't it, from Brooklyn?

HAYNES: I thought I'd landed on the moon! It was very different. And I mean, for example, my — I'll never forget my embarrassment. My mother had very carefully gone out and

gotten me a new suit, nice trousers and shirts and things, and I was all wrong. Everybody — everybody around me who'd gone to boarding schools were wearing chino pants, and sneakers. For formal occasions they threw on a navy blue blazer over their chino pants. My college wardrobe was all wrong.

Q: Dirty white bucks.

HAYNES: White bucks, yeah, exactly. And I was dressed all wrong.

Q: (laughs) Oh yeah. Well, I went to Williams from 19 —

HAYNES: Oh no, no! Don't tell me!

Q: From 50 — '46 until — I was the class of '50. So I know the era and the time very well.

HAYNES: Right. Well, one of the good things about that era was that there were a significant number of returning veterans.

Q: Oh yes.

HAYNES: Veterans of World War II. This made for a much more mature environment than even exists today for entering college students.

Q: Yeah. I've heard people, the faculty back now, but talking about the, the difference in that immediate post war classes, because they'd been there, seen that, you know?

HAYNES: That's right. That's right. And a lot of the frivolous activities like fraternities didn't appeal to those vets. You know, it — it just seemed childish to them.

Q: It did. No, it was a different world.

HAYNES: It was.

Q: What subjects did you — what was your major and how did you —

HAYNES: My major was political science. And I did an honors thesis for my senior thesis under a political scientist pretty well known named Karl Loewenstein.

Q: Oh yeah.

HAYNES: Karl Loewenstein was also one of the interpreters at the Nuremberg Trials. So he came with a lot of interesting anecdotes that brought the subject of political science to life.

Q: How did you find social life there?

HAYNES: No problem because there were black girls at Smith and Mount Holyoke and Wellesley and Vassar. Not many, maybe three or four at each school. But, we all knew each other before we went to college. One of the ways that black people had of surviving in the days of rigid segregation, was to develop a network of contacts that allowed us to connect around the country. For example, if my family were driving from New York to Washington, DC, they had to know some families along the way where they could stop and get a meal because we were not allowed to eat in restaurants once we passed the Mason Dixon Line. And we were even unwelcome in places like New Jersey.

Q: Yeah, you know, it's incredible but I lived in Annapolis where they had separate drinking fountains.

HAYNES: You remember them.

Q: Oh yes. Different movie house. I mean there wasn't even a segreg — I mean, blacks had their movie house, whites had their movie house.

HAYNES: Right. Right.

Q: It's terrible. But did —

HAYNES: And oh, by the way, speaking of Annapolis, there was an enclave, a black enclave not far from Annapolis called Highland Beach.

Q: Oh yes.

HAYNES: And middle class black families from Washington, DC used to have summer homes there.

Q; Yeah. And you know, again, you know, within the black community, I'm told that there are sort of almost color designations for different —

HAYNES: Oh yes. Less today than at that time, but at that time definitely. Definitely. I mean light skin went along with belonging to the upper socioeconomic class. And most of my contemporaries of color in the Ivy League schools, when I was going to school at Amherst, were light skinned black people. They were the children of privilege.

Q: Well, you still, you know, particularly in the arts or something, in the movies and all, I mean whatever it is, it's still pretty apparent.

HAYNES: Well, you know, one of the things about the film industry today is that (and this is interesting because I have a son who works in the film industry in Hollywood) if you think about it — there is a place in the movies and among entertainers for a very beautiful light tan or light brown skin black women, like Halle Berry or like Lena Horne.

Q: Dorothy Dandridge.

HAYNES: Dorothy Dandridge. You're absolutely right. But there is not an equivalent place for handsome light skinned black men.

Q: No.

HAYNES: And the reason for that, I am convinced, is that going back to the days of segregation, the last thing that white male movie producers want is for white females to be attracted to black men.

Q: Oh absolutely. And I'm sure of it.

HAYNES: So they keep good looking black men off the stage and screen. Denzel Washington and Sidney Poitier are certainly not among the most handsome black men that you've ever seen.

Q: No.

HAYNES: I can assure you that there are some Brad Pitts out there with brown skin.

Q: Well, I — looking at it from the reverse side, I lived in Annapolis, although we were from a northern family. As a matter of fact, my grandfather had been a — well, a major under Sherman.

HAYNES: No kidding.

Q: (laughs) Yeah. But anyway, Annapolis was a navy town, very segregated. And I was just a kid, but I remember when I saw Lena Horne I thought, "What the hell is this miscegenation thing?" It didn't appeal to me at all, particularly when I was looking at Lena Horne. I mean —

HAYNES: (laughs)

Q: How about at Amherst? Did you find race played any role in sort of your social life?

HAYNES: No, I'll tell you, a funny thing happened to me about halfway through my freshman year. I was just — let me think now — I was 16 when I went to Amherst, and I didn't shave very often. But one day I'd been there — I'd been there for at least

a semester. There was a special occasion and I was going to shave. And I looked in the mirror and I was shocked by what looked back at me! I'd forgotten that I was black! Literally. And no, Amherst was, was a very comfortable place for me, and a place of acceptance.

Q: Were there any teachers — you mentioned Dr. Loewenstein — but any other teachers that particularly attracted you there?

HAYNES: Oh yes. Well, first of all the dean of admissions and his wife became very good friends. His name was Eugene Smith Wilson, Bill Wilson as he was called. And he became a special friend and mentor. And the head of the theater department, Curtis Canfield, who went on to become the Dean of the Yale School of Drama was a special friend.

Q: Oh yeah.

HAYNES: And oddly enough, even though I was — I was a mediocre math student, Professor Robert Breusch, a German Jew again, became a good friend. He was my calculus professor who took me to his office one day and he said, “You know, you are deathly afraid of math.” And he said, “I'm going to teach you to if not love it, like it and enjoy it.” He said, “Math is a game. Come along and play the game with me. Just learn the rules. Come and play with me and you're going to have fun. We're going to have fun,” he said. And you know what? He was right. I went from being a C math student to being a B+, which was quite an achievement.

Q; And those were real grades too in those days.

HAYNES: Those were real grades.

Q: Oh yes.

HAYNES: So he was a special friend. And then there was a German Jewish family in town, Dr. and Mrs. Merzbach, M-E-R-Z-B-A-C-H. He was the town obstetrician.

Q: Mm-hmm.

HAYNES: He and his wife saw me in a play at Amherst and they invited me over for dinner. And that was a big deal because to get away from institutional meals was a real treat.

Q: Oh yes.

HAYNES: The Merzbachs and their children have remained friends of mine. In fact, I'm going out to Los Angeles next week — and I'm going to be seeing their daughter who became a vice president at 20th Century Fox. And I used to babysit for her!

Q: (laughs)

HAYNES: And I tease her by telling her, “I changed your diapers.” But no, and then the college chaplain, John Coburn. Oh, he ultimately became the dean of Boston Theological Seminary. Anyhow, I had many friends on campus and, and indeed, because my family didn't have much money on big vacations, I couldn't afford to go home for short holidays, for example for Thanksgiving or Easter. And I always had an invitation to a local home. And even the homes of some of the few black families in town.

Q: Well, I take it you were involved in the dramatic arts. What plays were you in?

HAYNES: Oh well, in Shakespeare's “Hamlet” I played the ghost of Hamlet's father, which I played in heavy grey makeup. I played in “Front Page.” My memory's failing. But anyhow, I ultimately was admitted to the Dramatic Honors Society, the Masquers at Amherst. I appeared in quite a few plays.

Q: Well yeah, in my class we had a rather young guy who, who was very much involved in musical plays there named Steven Sondheim.

HAYNES: Oh yes (laughs)!

Q: I don't know whatever happened to him, but I hope he did well. I'm looking at the time —

HAYNES: We had one at Amherst who preceded us. His name was Burgess Meredith.

Q: Oh my God, yes.

HAYNES: Yes. There was quite an acting tradition at Amherst.

Q: Yeah. Well, I'm looking at the time. This is probably a good place to stop. And we'll pick it up the next time when you graduate in 1952 and where did you go and why?

HAYNES: OK. This has been — this has been relatively painless!

Q: Oh sure!

HAYNES: I've enjoyed talking with you.

Q: Well, the thing is I'm trying to illicit from you, you know, the period. And you're doing very well.

HAYNES: Well, thank you. You're kind.

Q: OK.

HAYNES: And I look forward to speaking with you again.

Q: OK. Let's take a peak at the calendar. You got one there?

HAYNES: Yeah.

Q: All right, how about the 5th of May?

HAYNES: What day of the week is that?

Q: That's a Thursday.

HAYNES: OK. Thursday, May 5th.

Q: And I'll call you around 1:30?

HAYNES: Yeah.

Q: Or 2:00, is that better?

HAYNES: Let's say two.

Q: OK.

HAYNES: Just one second. Thursday — I have to write this down, May 5th.

Q: Where's your son in California?

HAYNES: In Redondo Beach.

Q: Ah-ha. Yeah, I've got a son who's in Pasadena. He's with ABC and Disney.

HAYNES: Hello?

Q: Rick?

HAYNES: Yes.

Q: OK, we're back on.

HAYNES: Thank you. This is a more secure line, but you know, when you live in the boondocks sometimes the signal fades in a storm.

Q: OK. Rick, let's — I wonder if you could either compare or contrast or however you want to do it, was the Yale system at law different than sort of the case system at Harvard?

HAYNES: Not at all. We used the case system as did almost all of the law schools in the country at that time.

Q: Well, did you find yourself concentrating on any particular area of the law that you got through after the initial year and all?

HAYNES: No. In order to pass any state's bar exam, you have to have a very broad knowledge of the law. And like all the other law schools, Yale prepared us in that fashion.

Q: Uh-huh. What was the student body of the law school like when you were there —

HAYNES: Extremely bright and ethnically speaking, I, I was the only black student in my class to graduate. We started out with, with three of us and the two others dropped out.

Q: How about girls? Women?

HAYNES: I believe there were six in my class of one hundred or so.

Q: Did you find that most of your colleagues and yourself, but I mean were aiming at any particular law firms or government jobs, or what?

HAYNES: In law school I would say most of them were headed toward private practice in the top law firms in the major cities.

Q: Where did you point yourself?

HAYNES: Well, it was very difficult. You know, let me go back to Amherst. At Amherst, I was one of two black students in a class of 200. In those days in our colleges and universities there was a racial quota at Amherst. I believe the quota for Jewish students was 10 and for Roman Catholics was 20. And no effort was made to hide the fact that there were quotas; it was just an accepted fact.

Q: Well, at Yale did you feel any sort of discrimination or how the school was handling you at all?

HAYNES: No. I was held up to the same standards of academic performance as my white peers. Where it did matter was when it came to graduation and seeking jobs with major law firms. I would initially get interviews because in those days they didn't ask one's race. When you came from a place like Yale and Amherst they just assumed you were white. And with a first name like Ulric they assumed I was of German background which is not the case. And there was general surprise when I would show up for my interview. And time and again, I would get the same response from the interviewer: “Well, we would love to have someone of your background and academic performance, but our clients wouldn't like it, they wouldn't feel comfortable with a black attorney.” And in one case, I will never forget — and I'm trying to think now. There was — oh, what was his name? He was the first black Cabinet member. I believe he was appointed by Nixon as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Q: Yeah, I —

HAYNES: Samuel Pierce was his name. I knew his brother well. Sam Pierce was a black attorney with a prominent New York law firm. I believe it was predominantly Jewish. And when I came for my interview, he was the one who interviewed me and he really enraged

me by telling me, “I've got to tell you straight off, that I'm the black man in this firm and we don't have room for another.”

Q: Oh boy.

HAYNES: I — I was furious. I wanted to punch him in the nose. But of course having been nurtured as a gentleman at Amherst and Yale, I didn't do it.

Q: (laughs) Well, did — I would think that there would be a natural — given the period, that it would be much more possible to sort of look towards government work at that point.

HAYNES: Well, yes. As it turned out, my first job was with the New York State Department of Commerce. I was working as an assistant to their legal counsel and I got that job — oddly enough for two reasons. I got it because Averell Harriman was the Governor of New York State at that time, and he was running for reelection. And he thought it — and his people thought it would be a good idea for him to appoint a young black attorney to his team in order to attract the black vote in New York State. That was one reason. The second reason was as a law student, I had worked as a freshman counselor on the undergraduate campus of Yale University. It was a way of getting my room and board paid. And one of my counselees was a young man named Peter Duchin, the bandleader Eddie Duchin's son.

Q: Oh yes, the band —

HAYNES: Band leader.

Q: Very much the — he was the society —

HAYNES: Very —

Q: — society bandleader.

HAYNES: And Peter Duchin was Averell Harriman's godson.

Q: Ah!

HAYNES: So when Peter heard that Harriman was interested in my getting a job in his administration, Peter waded in and told his godfather, “Hey look, you got to hire this guy. He's my friend.” And the rest is history.

Q: Ah. Well, all right. How long were you working for the New York Department of Commerce?

HAYNES: I worked there for about two and a half years, and I ultimately became Executive Assistant to the Commissioner of Commerce. And I left the Department of Commerce when Averell Harriman lost the gubernatorial election to Nelson Rockefeller. And at that time I applied for a job with the UN (United Nations) Secretariat, and got it. And I was assigned to the European Office of the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland.

Q: Well, let's go back to New York. How did you find the atmosphere, politically and all, in this part of the New York State government?

HAYNES: Do you mean was there any racial —

Q: Well, I was thinking more on the political side, but racial too. But how did you find working —

HAYNES: Oh, I was very happy there. I enjoyed my work. There was no racial tension. I was living in — of course I was living in Albany, New York, at that time.

Q: Did you — I mean were there political issues that you all had to deal with?

HAYNES: Oh yes, of course.

Q: Such as?

HAYNES: Well, I remember one of the first issues that I dealt with New York State emerging as a major producer of quality wine.

Q: Ah yes.

HAYNES: And the first thing I did was work on some legislation to encouraged the development of vineyards in New York State.

Q: Did you get involved with the legislature there.

HAYNES: Well, yes. I was doing legislative bill drafting.

Q: You know, and there's always been intense interest in New York being the big state that is, in their legislature. And how did you find working for the people who went there?

HAYNES: Well, I worked mostly close with the Governor's Office. He had specialists on his team who dealt directly with the legislature. So I was reporting to those who had direct contact with the legislature. I did not have direct contact with the legislature.

Q: Did you get any feel for Governor Harriman and his operation at the time?

HAYNES: Because of my relationship with his godson, he took a personal interest in me. And a couple of times I was invited to the Governor's Mansion to have dinner with him and his wife at that time, Marie Harriman. And he was delighted to find out that I had an interest in international relations, because of course he had had by that time had an already brilliant career as ambassador to England and to the Soviet Union and as a foreign policy advisor to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman.

Q: Lend-Lease —

HAYNES: Lend-Lease and —

Q: — and Marshall Plan in Paris.

HAYNES: Exactly. So, he was delighted to find someone on his staff who shared his interest in international affairs. He was very kind to me.

Q: Well, then —

HAYNES: And indeed, if I can just jump ahead a bit. It was thanks to him that I moved into the Kennedy administration in the State Department in 1963.

Q: Ah-ha. OK, well let's go to the UN. You were with the UN from when to when?

HAYNES: European Office of the UN from about '58 to '59.

Q: What was your job?

HAYNES: I was a — I'm trying to think of the title now. I worked — my job was recruiting military and police officers for the UN Palestine peacekeeping mission.

Q: Well, that should have been interesting.

HAYNES: It was very interesting.

Q: Oh yes.

HAYNES: And I was detailed to the United Nations Development Program to go to Guinea, which had gotten its independence from France. And because I was fluent in French I think that's one of the reasons why I got that post. We were responsible in the United States Development Program for advising the Guinean government on how to set up a government because de Gaulle and the French were so angry with, with President S#kou Tour# and Guinea at the time. France had asked their former African colonies to join the

French Community that France was trying to form into something equivalent to the British Commonwealth. And Guinea was the only former French African colony that refused to join. So, in vindication, the French colonial officers in Guinea either destroyed or took all of the administrative records of the colony with them. And the Guineans, therefore, had nothing with which to begin an independent government. The UN stepped in and helped them. And I was on that UN team. I was a young assistant to the specialists from around the world who were helping the Guineans to draft a constitution and to set up a functioning parliamentary system.

Q: Well, before we move to that, I'd like to go back to the Palestinian thing.

HAYNES: Yep.

Q: What were we doing from the United Nations point of view to deal with, with the situation in Palestine?

HAYNES: The United Nations was setting up a peacekeeping mission to prevent armed conflicts between the Israelis and the Palestinians.

Q: Well, how —

HAYNES: That mission, by the way, still exists. It may have a different name, but it's still got UN peacekeepers, for example, on the border with Lebanon and Syria.

Q: Well, actually wasn't it in '62 when Secretary U Thant pulled UN troops out of the Sinai which helped start the war?

HAYNES: Well, yeah — my recollection is that they — they, they never left. There may have been an attempt to do so, or a threat to do so, but by 1962, I was already in Africa working for the Ford Foundation. I was no longer with the United Nations.

Q: All right, well back to Guinea. Did you get any look at S#kou Tour# and how he operated.

HAYNES: Oh, very much so, very, very much so. I got to know — in those days the leaders and their, their supporters that were young people, they were young people, many of them educated in France. And so they were my chronological contemporaries, and I got to know many of them personally. I did not get to know S#kou Tour# personally, although later on in about 1960, '61 when I was working for the Ford Foundation in Nigeria, John F. Kennedy asked Averell Harriman to make a tour of the emerging nations of Africa to give him advice on the formulation of American foreign policy in Africa. Harriman got in touch with me in Nigeria and asked me to accompany him on his mission to Africa because I was again, fluent in French and familiar with Africa. And during that fascinating trip I was able to meet L#opold Senghor, Felix Houphouet-Boigny in the Ivory Coast, and Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, as well as Patrice Lumumba in the Congo and the Abb# Fulbert Youlou in the Congo-Brazzaville.

Q: Ah.

HAYNES: The emerging Congo was very turbulent at that time. It was a fantastic trip for a young man like me to make. To be able to sit down with a great American statesman and meet with these emerging African leaders who were the founders of their countries.

Q: I mean coming back to S#kou Tour#, he, at least later on, had a reputation of being a pretty ruthless person, putting people in jails and just letting them rot there.

HAYNES: Well, he was a product of the French Labor Movement. He was a labor union organizer and he brought that approach to control into his government, and it was pretty heavy handed, yes. It was very heavy handed.

Q: I mean of all the various leaders who emerged in that part of the world, he came out with the — well, one, he was there a long time, but he never really softened.

HAYNES: Sekou Tour# kept control of the government of Guinea during the time that he was president, close control. And if that meant jailing people, intimidating people, he used those tactics.

Q: Well now, as you were working on say, a constitution, the French certainly ended up with no friends in Guinea, particularly at the top. So where would you — were you looking to other countries in Europe or the United States to serve as an example for a constitution?

HAYNES: Well, it was very apparent that none of the leaders in Africa had any respect for, nor any experience, for that matter, with constitutional government. So to them, the constitution, or any constitution the UN might have helped them to draft, was pretty much — pretty much a document to be ignored.

Q: So if you had to have one and so you made up one, but it depended on the leader.

HAYNES: It did. And, and none of them, from L#opold Senghor to Kwame Nkrumah certainly not Patrice Lumumba, none of them had any experience with constitutional government, and, therefore, they had no respect for a constitution as a document, as a binding legal document.

Q: On this trip with Harriman, what was he looking for? Or just to get a feel for what the situation was or —

HAYNES: He wasn't looking for anything. At that time, at — even at the upper echelons of the State Department — we were not very knowledgeable about what was going on in the African continent as these nations rapidly moved to become independent. At that time, there was no Bureau of African Affairs. There was a bureau — there was a subdivision of

the Bureau of European Affairs that dealt with colonial affairs. But, there was no Bureau of African Affairs. The Bureau of African Affairs was created by Kennedy as a sop to Governor G. Mennen Williams who was a disappointed Democratic presidential aspirant. Remember Soapy Williams?

Q: Oh yes.

HAYNES: Soapy Williams had been a potential candidate for the president of the United States, and he did not get the Democratic Party nod. And as a sop, Kennedy created the Bureau of African Affairs in the State Department and made him the first Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. And Soapy Williams took his job very seriously. He was very rough at the edges, but very well intentioned, highly motivated. But, he did not speak French which was the language most widely in use in Africa. And that got him into a lot of trouble. I traveled with him in Africa as his State Department escort officer and as his interpreter. And as his familiarity with French increased, he insisted on using it more and more — sometimes to the great embarrassment of us Americans and his hosts. I'll never forget — and here I'm going to use some not so nice language, so maybe —

Q: Oh, this is a pretty informal —

HAYNES: OK.

Q: — medium.

HAYNES: I'll never forget. The foreign minister of the New Republic of the Congo headed up by Lumumba came to Washington and Soapy Williams gave a luncheon for him at the State Department. And as is the practice, Soapy rose to give a toast to his guest. I moved to Soapy's side to translate his remarks and he brushed me aside and said, “No, I don't need you this time.” And he went on to say in his very, very broken French and— do you speak French?

Q: Not much.

HAYNES: Well, he said — I'll give it to you. He said, “J'ai toujours consid#re le Congo la queue de l'Afrique.” What he wanted to say was, “I have always considered the Congo the heart of Africa.” What he ended up saying was, “I've always considered the Congo the asshole of Africa.”

Q: Oh God.

HAYNES: Well, his guests who spoke French were aghast. And his American guests who, who spoke French were thinking, “My God, what a blatant display of honesty.” But I'll never forget, there were, you know, there was a rumbling of chuckle afterwards as people realized that he had made this gaff. But he often did — he often did — I'll never forget, we went to Guinea. And Soapy Williams was a multimillionaire. He came from the —

Q: Shaving cream family and all that sort of —

HAYNES: Shaving cream, yeah, yeah, exactly. He had that fortune. And yet he always insisted that we travel economy class in Africa. He did not take a U.S. military plane as Averell Harriman always did when he traveled abroad. He traveled commercially. And we always traveled in economy class. Well, the Guinean government had an armed guard waiting when our plane arrived and they rolled the red carpet up to the front exit where first class passengers exited.

Q: Could you — just one second. We're just going through the process of selling our house, which is —

HAYNES: Oh yes.

Q: Ugh.

HAYNES: That's an important process these days.

Q: Oh God, well yes, and we — ugh. Anyway, we've moved to retirement home and that's a real adjustment.

HAYNES: We — it's funny, I'm looking at the same prospect myself and discovering that in terms of price our house is under the water. We would lose so much in selling that it would — I'd take quite a financial loss. But anyhow, let me finish my story.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: We — we arrived — yeah, on a, a, a, a — sorry, I can't remember the name. It wasn't Air France at that time. They had an airline — the French had an airline that did most of the travel in Africa. Oh yes, UTA, it was, Union de Transports A#riens, UTA. We arrived on a UTA flight and the Guineans had rolled up the red carpet to the front door where first class passengers deplaned. They had the honor guard all lined up. And Soapy and the rest of us came out the back door with the economy class passengers requiring that the Guineans scramble to move the red carpet and the honor guard from the front to the back of the plane.

Q: (laughs)

HAYNES: I'll never forget it, it was really something out of a movie comedy. That was Soapy. And wherever he arrived, one of the first things that he did was to encourage the embassy staff to bring on all of the local African vendors selling African handicrafts and tribal art. And he would just buy them up by — well, you know, money was no object — he never bargained. Whatever the first price was, he paid it and he took it. As a result of which, when he retired he had a massive collection of African art which was very formidable that which he gave to the museum of art in Detroit and the collection to this day bears his name. But he was, he was quite a character. He also decided that one of the ways to, to make friends with the African corps of Diplomats in Washington was to

give periodic square dances. And that he did. He rented the auditorium of a church in Georgetown, and he'd give these square dances, and the Africans loved them! The press had a ball with Soapy for being so cornball.

Q: Huh. Well, cornball works often.

HAYNES: But it worked!

Q: Sure.

HAYNES: It worked.

Q: One quick second I'll be back in full swing. You went over with the UN.

HAYNES: Yes.

Q: And then you were — was it the UN that sent you to Guinea?

HAYNES: Yes.

Q: And then you moved to what, the Ford Foundation?

HAYNES: Yes.

Q: How was the Ford Foundation? What was that job in?

HAYNES: I was assistant to the regional director for West Africa, of their foundation development program. And they were doing work that was very similar to the United Nations Development Program. They were helping, in Nigeria, for example, the Nigerians to draft their constitution. And the Ford Foundation brought over some leading American jurists to help them draft their constitution.

Q: Well, I would have thought the Nigerians would have been more susceptible to a real constitution than some of the others. Is that true, or not?

HAYNES: They were. Initially it worked pretty well; but, subsequent governments have been so plagued with corruption that the constitution has become almost irrelevant in Nigeria.

Q: Well, then did you — when you were with Harriman, were you with the State Department or were you sort of seconded from the Ford —

HAYNES: I was seconded from the Ford Foundation.

Q: Well, was there the debate at that time in the State Department about whether we'd recognize all embassies in all these countries? At one point we sent Lloyd Henderson on a tour of the area. I'm not sure whether this was maybe under Eisenhower.

HAYNES: No. By this time, the decision had been made that each of these independent countries was to have an American embassy.

Q: Yes. Some of the embassies we put up to begin with were really sort of storefronts. I mean it took a while to develop sort of an embassy infrastructure in the area.

HAYNES: Well, it happened pretty rapidly. Because of Land-Lease, we were able to acquire some magnificent pieces of property in the former French colonies and British colonies for American embassy residences. They were really quite grand. And I know when I — I'm jumping way ahead, but when I was ambassador in Algeria, the American embassy residence in Algeria is really a, a magnificent Moorish style palace dating back to the mid-19th century. And we acquired that property through Land-Lease moneys that were owed to us by France. That was pretty much the pattern throughout Africa. So in terms of the physical premises, the American embassies were quite grand and were choice pieces of property. In terms of staff and staffing those embassies, it's very

interesting, and it's something that I continue to be very upset about with the State Department. There was a very conscious area to staff these embassies at the lower level, not at the ambassadorial level at that time, with African American Foreign Service officers. And that pattern exists to this day. It has been elevated to the point where most of the current and, and recent past American ambassadors to Africa have been African American. This comes from a stupid, misguided belief that “it takes one to know one.” This practice forgets that we African Americans are Americans first, culturally, and know little or nothing first hand about the continent of our ancestral origin.

Q: Yeah. And I assume that as with somebody of Italian background going to Italy, they're not received, you know?

HAYNES: That's right! You're absolutely right. I'll give you an example. In certain parts of Africa, when — well, particularly in Nigeria, it perplexed me how Africans accepted as their own some former British colonial officers who had, as it were, gone native, learned the language, some of them even adopting tribal dress. I was perplexed because they were more warmly received than I was! And it suddenly dawned on me that what I thought was terribly important, and what my fellow Americans thought was very important — that is, the color of one's skin — was not of primary importance to Africans. What was important was the language you spoke, the culture you represented, did you eat like they did, did you dress like they did, did you practice their form of religion. That was far more important to them than the color of one's skin, and it remains true today. I have listened to — I've watched Henry Lewis Gates, the African American scholar from Harvard, I've watched his public broadcasting television shows about Africa. And even he seems to be surprised when he refers to the African leaders that he's interviewing as brother. They look at him with shock, because to them he's not a brother. First of all, he doesn't — he doesn't even look like them! Most of us African Americans are people of mixed race and obviously so to Africans. And by the time they realize you don't speak their language and you don't

have — you don't eat their food and you don't have their religion, I mean, brotherhood is something that's, that's not, not in the — or in the forefront of their minds.

Q: No, we, we —

HAYNES: By the way, the State Department is still following this pattern. There is a disproportionate number of African American Foreign Service officers and ambassadors serving in Africa and in the Caribbean. I notice this too when we're sending a Chinese American or someone of Chinese American ancestry to China especially when that person does not speak fluent Mandarin. You cannot expect them to have a leg up just because they look Chinese. The department has a lot to learn. For example, there is only one American diplomat who I can recall who has served in a major European nation as an American ambassador, and that's Terence Todman, who was ambassador to Spain and ambassador to —

Q: Denmark.

HAYNES: Denmark, and also to Argentina, an important country. But in this day and age when we have an African American president, we haven't yet got one, not one African American ambassador (and never have had) in Britain, France, Germany, you name it. We did have one in East Germany. David Bolen way back in the Kennedy/Johnson area, as I recall. We had one in Romania. That was O. Rudolph Aggrey.

Q: Well, we — well —

HAYNES: And of course we had one in Finland.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: The former head of —

Q: USIA.

HAYNES: USIA, yeah. The journalist, Carl Rowan.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: But I mean in this day and age? Not one African American career Foreign Service Officer or appointee is worthy of serving in France or Germany or England or any other major European post? What about it guys? Get off it. I am very, very upset with the State Department, and I'm very surprised that neither Barack Obama nor Hillary Clinton has been able to do anything about this matter.

Q: So often the secretaries of state get so — I mean they have so many things on their plate —

HAYNES: Exactly.

Q: — that the, the personnel going to various posts doesn't rank very high in their priorities.

HAYNES: This — this was brought back — I hate to use the expression. This was brought back in spades to Dean Rusk, when he was secretary of state, and his daughter married an African American classmate pf hers.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: And I'll never forget, the ambassador from South Africa apparently made some private remarks that were pretty disparaging about this inter-racial marriage. And Rusk met with him privately and dressed him down and told him, first of all, it was none of his business and second of all, we didn't follow the same apartheid policies that South Africa did. But the State Department has not been a very welcoming place for African Americans to make a career.

Q: Well, later —

HAYNES: I'm sorry, I'm — I'm approaching scrupulously chronologically, but —

Q: No, I appreciate it and I do want to get your judgment on these policies. With the Ford Foundation, were you concentrated on a particular country?

HAYNES: Well, the foundation had offices all around the developing world. They had an office in Cairo for the Middle East, they had an office in New Delhi for Asia, an office I believe in Buenos Aires for Latin America.

Q: Well, now during the Ford Foundation time when you weren't accompanying Harriman, what were you doing?

HAYNES: I was in charge of the regional administration for West Africa. That was my main function as assistant to the director of the West African Office.

Q: Did you find yourself concentrating more on a country or several countries than on others?

HAYNES: Yes, the foundation constantly did more in the English speaking — the former British colonies.

Q: Well, did you find that you were a competitor with the British in this area, or was it cooperative?

HAYNES: Oddly enough, there was more cooperation with the former colonial powers than there was with USAID, for example. It seemed to be a feeling in USAID that we were poaching on their territory.

Q: Well, this is bureaucracy in full flower, isn't it?

HAYNES: You've got it. You've hit it on the head.

Q: Well, did you have any spillover into the French Francophone side of our Ford's interest in West Africa?

HAYNES: Very little in the French side, because — and here it's one of the weaknesses of American education — it was so difficult to get Americans who were able to work in French — in the French language. Very difficult to get an American who even had a working knowledge of French. I'm appalled that as our public education faces the economic crunch in our country, we are cutting back on the teaching of foreign languages, and on sciences and math! But don't get me started on that one.

Q: No, I saw something in the paper today showing that the Board of Regents in New York State is cutting — this year is the last year they'll be giving part of their exam in a foreign language.

HAYNES: That's outrageous!

Q: Oh, it's criminal.

HAYNES: It's outrageous! We are — it's — it means that we are preparing a generation that will be unable to function globally.

Q: Well —

HAYNES: And by the way, one of the things — the excuses I hear very frequently is, “Oh well, the rest of the world speaks English.” Yes. But that means they know us better than we know them.

Q: Yeah. No, no, it's — it's a great fault. And so many — it used to be that as a nation of immigrants people would come into the United States, their kids would speak two languages.

HAYNES: Well, kids today are made to feel that there is something shameful about being bilingual. And that's encouraged by our English as a second language program, where we dump all of our non-English speaking students into these classes and try to Americanize them in terms of language. They become ashamed of their ability to be bilingual or multilingual. There's something un-American about speaking a foreign language!

Q: I think there's some priority being given now to kids come from Arabic backgrounds, but —

HAYNES: A little bit — too little too late.

Q: Did you run across during the time you were dealing with Africa, the — particularly in the early days, the French were extremely jealous of American influence, and often, you know, they tried to inhibit our, our work there. Did you run across that?

HAYNES: Yes. But, since most of our serious involvement was within English speaking countries, that was not a major impediment to being able to do a job.

Q: Mm-hmm. When Harriman came back, did you help him make a — did he make a report?

HAYNES: Oh yes.

Q: What was the thrust of the report?

HAYNES: Well, the main thrust was that he stressed the importance of the United States getting involved in the development of the new Africa at an early stage, and not letting

it become — not letting the former colonial powers reassert their influence over these emerging countries or the Soviet Union.

Q: Well, were we concerned at that time with the Soviets?

HAYNES: Very. Very.

Q: Was there much happening where you were regarding Soviet work in —

HAYNES: No.

Q: — Nigeria or —

HAYNES: But coming back to my trip with Harriman to the Congo with Lumumba. You will recall that the Americans, there has always been a suspicion — never proven, yet — that we were — our CIA was involved with the demise of Patrice Lumumba. And one of the reasons why we wanted Lumumba out of the way was that he was cozying up to the Soviet Union, realizing that, that this was a way of, of playing his cards in a way to get something from both the Soviet Union and the United States. But he — it's interesting, Lumumba was very, very conscious of the fact that Americans were — the American government was trying to subvert his government. He was very, very suspicious of the activities of the CIA in the Congo at the time. And when — I'll never forget, when Harriman went to his office to speak to him (he was prime minister at the time) about U.S. relations, he ushered us both (I was interpreting) into his bathroom. He would not speak in his formal study because he was suspicious that it was being bugged. And the gist of his conversation was a complaint about the subversive activities of the American government.

Q: Well, certainly as things developed, whether or not we were — the assassination was part of our operation or not — certainly afterwards, with Mobutu and the CIA, I mean that was a very long-lasting relationship.

HAYNES: Oh yes.

Q: Very close.

HAYNES: And, indeed the CIA was actively involved. Larry Devlin — I don't know if that name rings a —

Q: Oh yes, he was a CIA man for —

HAYNES: That's right.

Q: — years and —

HAYNES: In the Congo.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: And he has written a book. And while he denies involvement in the assassination, there's so much firsthand evidence offered of American involvement, CIA involvement in subverting the Lumumba government.

Q: Well, when you went there with Harriman, were you and Harriman sort of aware of the strong possibility of CIA involvement in all sorts of things? Assassination hadn't happened at that time, but —

HAYNES: Oh yes. Oh yes. He much more than I because he had had much more direct contact, professional contact with the CIA than I.

Q: Was this considered a bad thing or not by you all?

HAYNES: It was considered a major nuisance, a major impediment to the development of effective foreign policy in Africa.

Q: Well, then —

HAYNES: It was almost as though we were not working on the same team.

Q: On this Harriman trip, was the Congo seen as the major problem that faced the Western world and the — as opposed to the Soviet world at that time, or were other areas as — were we as concerned with?

HAYNES: Oh, the Congo was an important area, but it was not the major area. Remember, at that time there were two Germanys, East and West Germany. The wall was constructed dividing Berlin. Oh no, there were other — other major problems.

Q: No, but I mean as far as the Harriman trip.

HAYNES: Oh no, no, no. The Harriman — the Harriman trip, no, that was a major problem.

Q: How about the Nigeria? Had there been a growing divide between the Muslim and the sort of Christian anonymous side or was that seen to be working well?

HAYNES: Initially that was working well. The prime minister at the time (subsequently assassinated) was a very distinguished northerner. Tafawa Balewa was his name. And the governor general of Nigeria was Nnamdi Azikiwe, who had been one of the founders of the independence movement in Nigeria. So the reigns of government were very carefully divided to avoid tribal conflict and religious conflict. Such is not the case today. Nigeria's an absolute mess.

Q: In a way corruption has become the major problem there, hasn't it?

HAYNES: A very major problem, at all levels, of government, commerce, society, you name it.

Q: Well, then you moved over to the Kennedy administration in 1963?

HAYNES: Yes.

Q: All right. Well, I think this is probably a good place to stop now. And we'll pick this up the next time, how you got involved with the Kennedy administration.

HAYNES: Sure.

Q: OK.

HAYNES: The most interesting part I think will be my work as a member of the staff of the National Security Council.

Q: Absolutely. OK.

All right, today is the 10th of June, 2011 and an interview with Rick Haynes. All right. We're — sort of what happened '63, Harriman and then you moved over. What were you up to?

HAYNES: Well, in 1963 — let me think now. I was working with the Ford Foundation in Tunisia. And Averell Harriman called me and suggested that I come to the State Department and — wait — wait, no, that's not right.

Q: To put it in some perspective, Kennedy was assassinated in November.

HAYNES: That's right. Then it was, it was McGeorge Bundy in 1964 who I was — by that time I was a Foreign Service — in those days they had Foreign Service Reserve Officers, Foreign Service officers who did not come in the traditional route. Bundy asked me if I'd be interested in monitoring political affairs in Africa for the National Security Council. And of course it was such a choice assignment that I jumped at it and the opportunity to work with a guy as brilliant as McGeorge Bundy.

Q: All right, well now, you worked there from when to when, to put in perspective?

HAYNES: Let me think now. '64 to '66, I believe. It wasn't quite that long. But anyhow, that was roughly the period.

Q: All right, well before we get the specifics on issues, how was the Security Council constituted at the time? How did it operate?

HAYNES: Well, McGeorge Bundy operated the National Security Council like a senior seminar at Harvard. It was an absolutely engaging and brilliant discussion group dealing with all of the major international issues of the day and presided over by Mac Bundy who was not only brilliant, but extremely witty. So staff meetings, the daily staff meetings were an occasion that all of us looked forward to. We were divided into areas of the world and into specialties. The regional areas, for example, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, and so on, and then there were — there was someone who handled defense and military affairs, and another person who handled economic affairs. It was quite an impressive team. Some of the other members of the team who went on to distinguish themselves, were Harold Saunders who became the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs. And I'm trying to think who else. Ed Hamilton, well he left just about the time that I did and went into private consulting. But he was absolutely brilliant. And it was — it was quite a — it was quite an impressive team.

Q: Well, I mean looking back on it, was it, you know, I mean having this seminar makes — sends up, when you describe it, sends up some warning signals that maybe there's an awful lot of talk and not much produced. Or did — or — au contraire, how would you — how would you —

HAYNES: Not at all, not at all. Each of us received the daily cable traffic to the State Department in our area of specialty. It was an awful lot to read and digest. And it was very important for us to sift through all of that incredibly important material, concentrate on the major issues and concerns to the United States, issues that affected our national interest. At the end of the day we had to prepare a paragraph on the major issues in our

region for the president's night reading. By that time the president was Lyndon Johnson. And you know, filtering everything and collecting it into a single short paragraph was quite a challenge. But it was an enormously valuable discipline for me personally and it's something that has stayed with me for all of my life — the ability to sift through a lot of verbiage and get down to the essential issues that were of interest to our country. And that was a daily exercise. And in my time, I think the major issues in Africa were the Northern Rhodesian (now called Zimbabwe) unilateral declaration of independence and apartheid in South Africa.

Q: Well, how did we — first place, before we move to Africa, how much was Vietnam dominating this?

HAYNES: Oh, Vietnam.

Q: Was it a growing thing or when you arrived was it already —

HAYNES: No, no, Vietnam was the major topic of discussion at our morning staff meetings of the National Security Council staff.

Q: Well, was there within this discussion any thought of well, what should we — I mean obviously you had to figure out what you'd do. I mean were there, you might say, interventionists versus let it play itself out or what?

HAYNES: Yes, in all of our discussions there was not a hewing to a party line. There were very strong and very carefully articulated differences of opinions. And yes, there was a — there was — I remember very, very well that there was a small group of us who felt that withdrawing from Vietnam was the thing to do; others felt that increasing our military intervention was the right course to take. There were distinct differences of opinions. And Bundy did a fantastic job of mediating those differences and arriving at a synthesized policy conclusion, which he felt comfortable in passing on to the president.

Q: Well now, in Africa, you know, early on, I mean, when Kennedy came in, he and the State Department were extremely concerned with the Congo. You know, there's a book called The Congo Telegrams, or something. But how stood things in the Congo by the time you arrived and how were you seeing the Congo?

HAYNES: The Congo was still in the process of working through the disastrous advent of, of independence. When the Congo got its independence there were only 13 Congolese university graduates in the whole country. And almost all of them were absorbed immediately into the government in one position or another under Lumumba. But also, the Soviets at the time were trying to — trying very hard and somewhat successfully to influence the course of events in the Congo, which resulted in a very significant CIA presence in the Congo.

Q: Well —

HAYNES: Indeed the — there was, you know, it's never been proven, but there has — have been charges that our own CIA was involved in the assassination of Patrice Lumumba.

Q: Well, I mean you were an African hand by this time. How did you feel about our role in the Congo as you got inside the administration?

HAYNES: I was quite familiar from the advent of independence in the Congo with the events that were going on. Subsequently, when Soapy Williams was the first Assistant Secretary for African Affairs in the State Department I traveled with him to the Congo several times and sat in on his discussions with Moise Tshombe and others. So I was immersed in Congo affairs.

Q: Well, how did you feel — from the perspective of the National Security Council, what was happening in the Congo? I mean we were —

HAYNES: I felt, and still feel, that the situation was politically chaotic and totally unpredictable. There were elements involved that we did not understand, such as tribalism, personal vendettas, and a very high level of incompetence when it came to governing the country.

Q: But the country was just too big to — and important to write off, wasn't it?

HAYNES: Exactly. It was such an important source of precious medals and, and also all of the other emerging nations of Africa were watching what was going on in the Congo, and either learning good lessons from them, or learning lessons from them that were not in our national interest. The major lesson being how to play off the Soviet Union against the United States. All it took was an announced flirtation with the Soviet Union to excite the interest and involvement of the United States.

Q: Well, did you feel that there was much to be gained in most — I mean was it UN votes or keeping the math and turning red in Africa or were you sort of picking on key areas that we had to hold on?

HAYNES: It was all of those things. And you mustn't forget that at that time one of our major headaches was the apartheid government of the Republic of South Africa. At that time apartheid was in its heyday. And there were all sorts of — yes, it was all of the things you mentioned. There were votes at the UN, there were economic and commercial interests in the enormous natural resources of Africa. At the time we were only beginning to get a sense of the enormous resources of oil in certain parts of Africa. So we had commercial and political interests in what was going on in Africa at the time.

Q: Well, what was the atmosphere within the National Security Council regarding South Africa, which was, as you say, at — apartheid was in its heyday.

HAYNES: Well, I'll give you two anecdotes that will help you to understand the, the climate on the inside of the national government. Dean Rusk was Secretary of State at the time

and his daughter, while he was secretary of state, married an African American. The South African — some South African politicians that apparently made some nasty comments about that in the press and Dean Rusk was of course enraged and it immediately cooled his professional and personal relations with the South African ambassador to the United States. And, at the time I was the first desk officer for Southwest Africa which is now Namibia, and the British High Commission territories, now Lesotho, Swaziland, and Botswana. I was scheduled to make a routine visit to the territories under my supervision at the department. And the South African government, learning that I was an African American, refused to grant me a visa to transit South Africa to get to these territories for which I was responsible. And they absolutely refused to allow me to visit Southwest Africa, which was under their jurisdiction as a result of a League of Nations mandate. When Lyndon Johnson heard that I'd been denied a visa, he made it clear to the South African ambassador to the United States that unless I did get a visa to visit my territories, he would arbitrarily declare several of their embassy personnel persona non grata in the United States. And of course they caved, but they caved only in part and gave me a visa to visit the High Commission territories, but did not allow me to visit Southwest Africa. However, they were not allowing any American diplomats to visit Southwest Africa at that time.

Q: What was your impression when you went to these places? Were they all on the brink of becoming — or have they become independent at that point?

HAYNES: No, no, no. They were on the brink of becoming independent. And the poorest and the most dependent on South Africa as a lifeline were Lesotho and Swaziland. The most promising, and, indeed, it has proven to be one of the most promising independent nations of Africa was what was called Bechuanaland, now it's called Botswana. And that was led by a remarkable tribal leader, Seretse Khama, who was married — and this of course upset the South Africans, very much — he was married to a white English lady, Ruth Khama. And Botswana is an enormously wealthy country, thanks to its very vast

resources of diamonds and other precious metals. As a result, today it is one of the most politically and economically stable countries in Africa.

Q: A relatively small population there.

HAYNES: Relatively small population, yes.

Q: Well educated.

HAYNES: Very well educated. They send a lot — even to this day they send a lot of numbers of the various tribes in Botswana to South Africa as imported labor, mostly in the diamond mines and gold mines. But its, its — today, oddly enough, its president is a son of Seretse Khama, who of course I met — I met him when I visited there. He was just a little boy about five-years-old. I remember him distinctly, because his father, Seretse, was a great jokester in addition to being a very brilliant man. He invited me and my embassy escort officer to have lunch with him at his residence, and to have a meeting with him afterwards. Well, just before the meeting began I asked to be excused to go to the embassy car to get some papers that I had left there and Seretse Khama said to me as I got up to leave, “And by the way, when you get to the garage, watch out for the elephant.” I laughed because I assumed he was teasing me and joking with me as a naive American. But to my horror, when I went around to the garage, what do I see standing there? But two elephants!

Q: (laughs)

HAYNES: I retreated very, very quickly, but he — and he sent a servant with me to reassure me. He said, “These are virtual pets because,” he said, “we feed them rather than to have them destroy our crops. We just give them food and they come every afternoon.”

Q: (laughs)

HAYNES: Well, I was — the joke was on me!

Q: How did you find you were received in these places? Because black African Americans weren't that plentiful in our Diplomatic Service or represented anywhere.

HAYNES: But, I was received — generally received with surprise. And I'll give you two anecdotes. When I went to the Congo with Averell Harriman just before Kennedy assumed office, I was driven arounI can't remember how this happened — by a Congolese who was a junior executive in an American oil company in the Congo. In retrospect, I believe that he was one of the CIA contacts in the Congo. And on one of our drives in the capitol city, at that time called Leopoldville, we were at a checkpoint by Congolese soldiers. It was more than a little unnerving for me because one of the soldiers put a gun through the open window on the side where I was sitting. We were in a Volkswagen Beetle. And he said something to the Congolese who was driving me which I could not understand because they were speaking Lingala. And after a heated discussion, we were allowed to pass. And you know, after we passed, I asked my escort, “What was this all about?” He was a little embarrassed and he said, “Well, he, he wanted to know — the soldier wanted to know where I was going with that white man.” And it was a great awakening for me to come to the realization that, to most Africans, looking at African Americans, we are obviously people of mixed race.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: And, again, as I said to you earlier in one of my other comments, what endeared Africans to foreigners was not the color of their skin, but how well they spoke the tribal language. In, in some of the former British colonies, some of the former colonial officers, “went native” and adopted African dress, learned to speak the tribal language, ate the food and learned the customs. And they had much greater acceptance by the general African population than did African Americans, who did not have any knowledge of their

language and culture and did not even share the color of their skin. So many of us African Americans are people of mixed race that most Africans do not identify with us.

Q: Yes, this whole —

HAYNES: Which by the way, if I may finish my thought, which makes the continued pattern of concentrating African American diplomats to posts in Africa absolutely ridiculous.

Q: Yeah, I'm — we developed that at another point. Yeah, it is. I mean well, for one thing, this whole skin color racial thing, you know, doesn't make much sense.

HAYNES: You know, and particularly in the State Department, we've had two African American Secretaries of State and we now have an African American president, and for God's sake, the practice of racially segregated diplomatic assignments continues.

Q: Well, as, you know, it's the political thing to do, and it's almost, you know, a continuation of our own tribalism.

HAYNES: It is our own racism.

Q: Yep. Well, then moving on to Zimbabwe or Southern Rhodesia. What were we looking at, the problem there? Was white Prime Minister Ian Smith anathema or was it just a problem to be worked out? Did we feel it was going to make a real difference in the rest of Africa and we're using this regime as an example or what?

HAYNES: No, he was, he was clearly anathema. He was as much anathema to us as he was to Great Britain. If he was allowed to secede from the British Empire, it made a mockery of the granting of independence to all these former British colonies in Africa. And it would also encourage the racist apartheid regime in South Africa which supported Smith.

Q: What were we doing regarding Southern Rhodesia?

HAYNES: Well, we did not have an embassy there because it had not yet gotten its independence. So we didn't really have a good listening post. Almost everything we got was filtered through the British.

Q: Well, did we, I mean as a policy, was there much of a policy except hands off or what?

HAYNES: No, no, no. It was clearly a policy of opposition to the Ian Smith government and its threat of unilateral declaration of independence. We were in lockstep with the British on that.

Q: Mm-hmm. What about — you covered all of Africa for the National Security Council, didn't you?

HAYNES: Except for Egypt and North Africa, which were considered the Middle East or the Near East.

Q: What were we doing about the whole Francophone area? Were we sort of marking time or?

HAYNES: Well, our involvement in the Francophone area was much less significant than with the British areas. And this was another weakness of the State Department. We just didn't have enough French speaking Foreign Service officers to monitor and certainly not to staff posts in the first embassies that opened up in Francophone Africa. We were, because of this weakness, incredibly unprepared for very simplistic reasons — language — to monitor affairs. Most of our French speaking Foreign Service officers fluent in French were in France and in Belgium. And of course we were not — and to this day we're not even getting a good pool of such officers because language studies in our secondary schools and in our colleges has in some places actually disappeared. We have this notion that it's not necessary to speak anybody else's language because everybody speaks English. The result is that everybody else in the world knows us better than we know them!

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: And in many ways the rest of the world manipulates us to our disadvantage. For example, when I was living in Iran, all of the university students in Iran spoke English, dressed like American students, watched our American television, and, as a result, they were much more familiar with us and our culture than we were with them and theirs. And this state of affairs continues to this day. I'm just appalled at the attempt to pass local ordinances and legislation here at home that make English the official language of the United States. And if you can't speak it, then you cannot become a citizen, you can't go to our schools, you can't do a lot of things. What an ethnocentric attitude that is ultimately leading to our undoing as we try to influence the rest of the world. You know, Chinese students come to our universities fluent in English, and we cannot send students to universities in China fluent in Chinese. No. We can't even send them to France fluent in French!

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: Forgive me, but that's one of my favorite gripes with the practical implementation of American foreign policy.

Q: All right, a part we haven't talked about, what about the Horn of Africa? Ethiopia and Somalia during your time? Somalia?

HAYNES: Well, Ethiopia was the major headache. I'm trying to think when Haile Selassie was overthrown and ultimately assassinated. But there was turmoil going on in Ethiopia, and Ethiopia was the major player in the Horn of Africa. Somalia was just awakening and, oddly enough, even they had trouble communicating with each other because one had been Italian Somaliland and the other had been British Somaliland. And the working languages in each place were English and, and Italian, and they didn't necessarily communicate very well. And, on top of that, you had the tribal equation. Somaliland was,

at that time, bumbling along trying to create a kind of national unity which it has never succeeded in creating to this day.

Q: Well, in Ethiopia — this is back in the early '60s — at one point I was the INR (Bureau of Intelligence and Research) person for the Horn of Africa. And our entire policy rested on preserving Kagnew Station, which is a communications and intercept station. How stood it during your time?

HAYNES: Quite frankly, I don't recall. I do not recall that as being an issue. Because, as I say, Ethiopia — and by the way, Ethiopia was having internal problems with Eritrea. It had its own internal problems, even during the time of Haile Selassie. But I do not recall Kagnew being a major concern during my watch.

Q: How about Tanzania and Nyerere? Some people sort of would almost fall in love with him, particularly the socialists in Europe. He was really driving his country down into sort of economic disaster. But he had a great following in the socialist world. Did we have much to do —

HAYNES: One of the problems in dealing with Tanzania and Mozambique in the State Department, at the time I was there as a Foreign Service officer and later as a staff member of the National Security Council, was one particular individual who was a good friend of mine. However, I often questioned his judgment. That was the deputy assistant secretary for African Affairs under Soapy Williams, a man named Wayne Fredericks. Do you remember him?

Q: Yes, his name has come out many times, yes.

HAYNES: Wayne had a love affair with, with — what's his face?

Q: Nyerere?

HAYNES: Yes. Julius Nyerere, and with Eduardo Mondlane in Mozambique. Mondlane was married to a white American lady, Janet Rae Johnson.

Wayne would often refer to Nyerere by his first name, Julius, as if they were intimate friends. In Wayne's mind Julius could do no wrong. The rest of us realized that Nyerere was a very academic socialist with no practical experience who was ultimately setting policies for his country that were leading it if not to disaster, was certainly not exploiting its potential for prosperity.

Q: You know, in many ways the London School of Economics and its teachings were more disastrous —

HAYNES: (laughs) Yes.

Q: — than the Lumumba University in —

HAYNES: You're absolutely right. They were text book socialists with no practical experience.

Q: What about Angola and Mozambique? The Portuguese, were they just sort of off the radar?

HAYNES: They were — they were pretty much off the radar because they played their cards very close to their chest. While not in as bad shape as the Belgian Congo, there were not very many educated Africans in, in either country. Those leaders who emerged had their education in other places, some of it in the Soviet Union, which set up — I believe it was even called Lumumba University — a special university for Africans in Moscow.

Q: Yes, it was Lumumba University.

HAYNES: — to educate potential African leaders. So what emerged from Lumumba University was certainly not something that served our national interest.

Q: Yes, well I'm told that many of them — I was in Yugoslavia at the time and I was getting, you know, Africans who were coming out of Bulgaria at that point. But they were sort of reflecting the same treatment they were getting in the Soviet Union, and that was intense racism.

HAYNES: Oh yes.

Q: And so they did not come out of Lumumba or satellites with any great love for the Soviet Union or its way of doing things.

HAYNES: No, they did not — there was no love lost for the Soviet Union. But you know, the only form of government that they had been taught was in the Soviet pattern. They didn't have very much to fall back on.

Q: No. Well, with the NSC (National Security Council), did you see both Kennedy and Johnson there dealing with the NSC? Was it different or what?

HAYNES: I was not there — I was not in the NSC during Kennedy's presidency. I was only there when Johnson was president. So I can't compare them. But Johnson — and this is a very personal opinion and I underline “opinion” — I had the feeling that Johnson did not particularly like McGeorge Bundy. First of all, because he was a Kennedy carryover.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: Second of all, he was from the educated New England elite. And third of all, because Bundy was a lot smarter than Johnson, and Johnson knew it. Bundy was a lot more worldly and quicker on his feet and he handled language brilliantly where Johnson would very often stumble. No, there was not much love lost between them. I

think Johnson respected Bundy in a funny sort of way. After Bundy resigned, Johnson had closer relationships with Walt Rostow, who succeeded Bundy. And I attended meetings between Rostow and Johnson. And I could tell that there was a mutual respect. There was a warmth there that obviously did not exist during the Bundy years.

Q: Well, how long were you with the NSC? I mean when did you leave?

HAYNES: I left in 1966.

Q: One further question talking about you might say American tribalism. Did you find, I mean there was a lot of civil rights activity going on in this period. Did you get involved in any of that?

HAYNES: Yes. Not when I was on the National Security Council staff, but when I was in the State Department and my vacation came up and I went to Soapy Williams and I told him that my then wife and I planned to go to Mississippi to teach in a freedom school as part of the Civil Rights Movement for the two weeks of my vacation. And I asked him whether he thought that would be an embarrassment to the department. And, without hesitation, he said, “Not at all.” And, so I did. My wife and I spent two weeks teaching at a freedom school at the height of the Civil Rights movement.

Q: Where did you teach?

HAYNES: In Tougaloo, Mississippi. And it was quite a — we were not welcomed there by the white population. We stayed on the Tougaloo College campus, Tougaloo being a segregated black college. And every night the Ku Klux Klan would circle the campus in all their regalia with their horns blowing to let us know that they were watching us. It was unnerving, to say the least. But we took courage from the black people that we were involved with who were so eager for education that in many cases they were risking their lives and the lives of their children to send them to the freedom schools. And what we

were doing was just teaching — we were not indoctrinating them. We were just teaching them basic primary and secondary school educational skills.

Q: Were you the only African American on the NSC at the time?

HAYNES: Yes.

Q: Did you find that position, were you sort of the house black or I mean were you turned to, you know, when — I mean obviously there were so many things happening in the Civil Rights thing that I would think you'd almost become a point person for, "Well, what do you think of this, Rick?" or something like that.

HAYNES: We were not — we were not dealing with issues of American Civil Rights, so you know, that never came up in any of the discussions. We were limited to foreign policy and I did, for example, go to state dinners with my wife whenever Lyndon Johnson entertained an African chief of state. However, I never had the feeling that I was "on view" because of my race. I thought it was because of my assignment. I'm trying to think now — state dinners — no, I didn't feel as though I was the black man in the White House.

Q: How about President Johnson? Did you get any feel about how he operated or dealt, particularly with foreign affairs?

HAYNES: I had the feeling that he was — he did not feel comfortable dealing with foreign affairs, as comfortable as he did dealing with domestic affairs. I got that feeling because of the deference that he showed to Walt Rostow. I'm trying to think — oh, the one thing — Johnson was a man who used a lot of four-letter words and, who didn't mince his words. His language was not the language of diplomacy. And I will never forget once walking in the basement of the White House in the corridor leading between the East Wing and the West Wing walking by Johnson and Bill Moyers. And what I heard rocked me back on my heels. As they passed I heard Johnson say, "And I don't want my daughter going out with that nigger any more." Well, I nearly dropped dead in my tracks, but I kept walking.

And it dawned on me that he was talking about Lynda Bird Johnson who was dating the Hollywood actor, George Hamilton, at the time.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: George Hamilton is referred to as the guy with the perpetual tan.

Q: Yes (laughs).

HAYNES: Well, he's got that perpetual tan, we in the African American community maintain, because he is a descendant of the Hamilton family of Atlanta, Georgia who are descendants of Alexander Hamilton, a West Indian Creole. Alexander Hamilton was born on the island of Nevis in the Caribbean and worked as an accountant in St. Croix which was a British possession at the time. He then came to the United States and became our first secretary of the treasury. It is widely believed in the African American community that the duel that he fought with Aaron Burr was over Hamilton's mixed race.

Anyhow, George Hamilton was one of his descendants. I happen to know the Hamilton family in Atlanta, Georgia, and they are very fair-skinned black people to this day. So, it is very possible that George Hamilton is in fact of mixed race ancestry and that's the reason why he can't lose his tan.

Q: Yeah. And well, I mean, one has this thing — I think isn't it in Louisiana where they have this exquisite definition of who is what, quadroon and octoroon?

HAYNES: Yeah, yeah, yeah —

Q: You know, it's the —

HAYNES: Down to one-sixteenth.

Q: It's just —

HAYNES: It's unbelievable.

Q: It really — it really is. And yet, somebody like Lyndon Johnson sort of grew up in that culture.

HAYNES: Right.

Q: You know, sort of poor white farmer.

HAYNES: That's right. With all the attitudes of a poor white farmer.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: He was. From a distance, I would call him a study in contrast. I'll never forget at the — I'm trying to — he gave a state dinner for the Mwami of Burundi (the tribal king). In any case, Johnson made it very pointed to ask my wife to dance with him. Well, I wasn't quite sure whether he was making a racial statement or because he thought my wife was attractive. Because he also had an eye for pretty ladies.

Q: He certainly did (laughs).

HAYNES: Oh, those were the days.

Q: Oh yes. Well Rick, I think this is probably a good place to stop.

HAYNES: Well, thank you so much.

Q: Well, where did you go after this? I want to put it at the end so I know where to pick this up.

HAYNES: I left the National Security Council to join the Executive Recruitment Firm of Spencer Stuart and Associates where ultimately I became a partner. Spencer Stuart

himself came to Washington and persuaded me to leave government and start a career in business.

Q: All right, well we'll pick it up then with Spencer Stuart. How do you spell the Stuart?

HAYNES: S-T-U-A-R-T.

Q: The correct way.

HAYNES: (laughs)

Q: There are these upstarts who try to put it S-T-E-W-A-R-T, which —

HAYNES: That's right.

Q: — is unfortunate, but you know, they're beknighted.

HAYNES: (laughs) Anyhow, that would have been 1966.

Q: All right, well pick it up there the next time.

HAYNES: OK, listen, always good to talk to you.

Q: Well, I really enjoy this. We have to meet some time.

HAYNES: Oh, we do. And oh, by the way, before I forget, I was talking to my good friend Terence Todman.

Q: Ah-ha.

HAYNES: And Terry said that he, he knew you and that he — well, Terry's the only black American diplomat who's really made it into the big league ambassadorially, having served

as ambassador to Spain, Denmark and Argentina. But he mentioned to me that there is a CD compiling all of the interviews that you've —

Q: Actually, we had a CD. But now — that had about 900 transcripts. But now if you just Google Frontline, one word Frontline, another word Diplomacy, that will take you to the Library of Congress where there are 1600 of our transcripts.

HAYNES: Wow. Wow.

Q: Including many people you'll know.

HAYNES: Frontline —

Q: Diplomacy.

HAYNES: Diplomacy.

Q: It's a Library of Congress website, but it brings you into our collection.

HAYNES: Thank you so much.

Q: All right. Here we go. Today is the 21st of June, the first day of summer, 2011 with Rick Haynes. And Rick, we'd left — you had — you had left the Johnson White House when?

HAYNES: In — let me think now — 1966. I think it was June of 1966.

Q: All right, well you went to a — a headhunter firm or something or?

HAYNES: Yes, I joined the — at that time the nation's top executive recruitment firm called Spencer Stuart and Associates in New York.

Q: Who were these Spencer Stuart?

HAYNES: Spencer Stuart was the name of the founder of the firm, and he had a team at that time of about six or eight recruiters in offices, main office in New York, secondary office in Chicago.

Q: Okay, what was, what was — first place, how long did you work for them?

HAYNES: Whew. Let's — easily five years. And then I joined one of their clients, the Cummins Engine Company located in Columbus, Indiana. And I had worked for that client for a couple of years recruiting for them. So, their chairman, J. Irwin Miller, asked me to join Cummins as a vice president — as the vice president for management, development.

Q: All right, well let's go back to your time with Spencer Stuart. What were you actually doing?

HAYNES: I was primarily focusing — it was shortly after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. And major corporations were all concerned about being in compliance with that act and were trying their best to recruit minority group members for management positions.

Q: So where did you — how'd you find the field for — that you were working on?

HAYNES: Well, the field was a very rich field. There were far more qualified minority group individuals, men and women, for management positions than there were positions open.

Q: Well, did you focus on any particular place? Or how did you go about getting recruits?

HAYNES: Well, I started with my own address book, people that I knew personally who were in management positions in government, in not-for-profit organizations, or in junior executive positions in business.

At the same time I had started teaching as an adjunct professor at the Harvard Business School. And of course among my minority group students, there were quite a number of individuals who were qualified to be recruited as junior executives.

Q: Now, at that time, and maybe — and please correct me if I'm wrong — when we talk about minorities, we're really talking about African Americans, more than — I mean it always — at least when you see the figures, sort of the, the Latinos seem to be, or the Hispanic Americans seem to fall through the cracks. Although now of course they're the majority of the minority.

HAYNES: Well, at that time it was primarily African Americans and Asian Americans, and primarily men. It was before the Women's Liberation Movement gathered any momentum.

Q: How did you find sort of the making of minority candidates with these firms, which really weren't used to this? I mean this was, you know, this was a new game in town and I would think there'd be a lot of difficulty adjusting to it.

HAYNES: There was much less difficulty than you would have imagined because, particularly in the world of business, the corporations, the business people were much more concerned about the ability of job candidates to perform on the job, and much less concerned about the color of their skin.

Q: How did you find the people who were coming up? I mean could you follow through to find out how they did?

HAYNES: Oh yes. Several of them reached the top of the corporate world. For example, one of them, Kenneth Chenault, is the chairman of American Express. Let's see, who else? Clifton Wharton became the chairman of TIAA-CREF (Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association - College Retirement Equities Fund). The present CEO of Xerox,

Ursula Burns, is a black female. Like them, several of the people that I recruited early on have risen to the top.

Q: Well, did you find yourself concentrating on one sort of graduates of particular schools or was it a blanket looking around? How did you go about this?

HAYNES: It was very important that the white executives consider that the minority executives were their professional equals. And, therefore, yes, I went to the same schools that the majority of the white executives came from: Harvard, Stanford, Georgetown, Wharton, places like that.

Q: Was there sort of a small group of women who were, you know, should have been executives? I mean was there much in the way of graduates of these business schools in the way of black women?

HAYNES: In the mid 1960s there was a surge in the efforts of the best colleges and universities — the business schools, schools of medicine, schools of law — to recruit minority groups and women. Very unlike the time that I was at law school at Yale back in the 1950s when in my class at the Yale Law School there were only three black students. And two of them dropped out, so I was the only black who graduated in my class. That was not unusual at that time. But, by the time we got into the mid '60s after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the major professional schools and particularly the business schools had made an effort to increase their minority group enrollment.

Q: Well, what about the Hispanic and the Asian groups? I would have — the Asians I think would have sort of been a — really a different breed of cat, weren't they?

HAYNES: Well, not just because they were Asian, but because they were in most cases either immigrants to this country, or the children of immigrants. And regardless of the national origin, immigrants I have found have a great deal of faith in higher education as the routes to make it in our country. So for Asians, they — they have for years been

excelling in graduate schools and they just continued on their own without much focus on them to excel and to enroll in our colleges and universities in numbers out of proportion to their actual numbers in the population.

Q: Well, had they been discriminated against by the major corporations?

HAYNES: Oh yes. Anything that wasn't white had been dis — and I might add, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant, because Jews were also discriminated against in business.

Q: Well, do Jews fall under the — sort of the minority awareness and trying to do something about it?

HAYNES: Well, the Jews came to the challenge of equality of opportunity in this country with a different mindset, and with a different background. They — most of them had come from Europe, many of them had already come from families that were in business, and they were also very dedicated to higher education. And where the leading professional schools in our country might have discriminated against them, they set up their own schools. Yeshiva University is a case in point. They set up their own banks, investment firms like the Lehman Brothers and Goldman Sachs. They were a very self-reliant and I say this in the best sense of the word, aggressive minority group in creating opportunities for themselves wherever the opportunities didn't exist. For example, look at how many Jewish hospitals there are in this country to this day. No longer predominantly Jewish, but still with the title. They were originally created because Jewish doctors were not allowed to practice in white Anglo-Saxon Protestant hospitals, so they created their own. And they are excellent hospitals to this day.

Q: What about — Hispanics sort of seem to be — fall of the edge of the table or something when these — but at the time you were looking, in the early '70s, late '60s, early '70s, how did — how did you find the Hispanic factor?

HAYNES: Well, the pool from which I had to select candidates for my clients did not include many Hispanics. The Hispanics that were emigrating to the United States at that time did not have the wealth of higher educational background that even blacks had at that time. And the same is true to a sad extent today.

Q: Yeah, it's sort of a problem that is still floating around of getting the — so many Hispanics engage, we might say the American system, which is higher education and, and property owning and all.

HAYNES: Well, it's a two-pronged challenge or two-pronged problem. One, is they don't come from traditions in their own countries in the Hispanic world, in the Latin American world, where higher education is accessible to them. And two, there are no institutions in our country that are making any concerted efforts to encourage Hispanics to acquire higher education. So, both the lack of a cultural tradition, unlike Europeans emigrated to our country, the lack of a cultural tradition and the lack of a — how should I say — a concerted effort in our country to help them move up the ladder, the socioeconomic ladder. This has been a major deterrent to getting Hispanics into executive positions in business.

Q: The one exception seems to be — this is from an outsider, you're down there — but sort of the Cuban Americans who already come from a business culture in Cuba.

HAYNES: Yes.

Q; You know, they were business people before and they're business people now.

HAYNES: They were well educated and they have become an economically powerful and politically powerful minority here in the U.S. Most Cubans do not come from a privileged background, but those who do have made enormous strides, mostly in setting up their own business, not into moving into the mainstream of American corporate life.

Q: Well, after this approximately five years you moved to — where did you go now?

HAYNES: Let me think now.

Q: Your engine company.

HAYNES: Yes, the Cummins, C-U-M-M-I-N-S, Cummins Engine Company, which the world's largest independent manufacturer of diesel engines with plants all over the world, in Asia, Europe, Latin America, as well as here in the United States.

Q: Whom do they — do they sell engines to the major firms like Volvo and others or?

HAYNES: Well, yes. They sell engines to Komatsu, the Japanese truck manufacturers, to International Harvester, to the major American truck manufacturers, and they also sell engines for generator sets to companies supplying oil companies for their oil rigs. They sell marine engines for ships. So wherever the diesel engine can be used the Cummins Engine Company has a market.

Q: Well, now where did you live?

HAYNES: I lived then in Columbus, Indiana. Ultimately I became vice president for the Mideast and Africa, and I was based in Tehran, Iran, just before the fall of the Shah. My family and I lived in Tehran for two years.

Q: Before we get to that, how did you find settling in as an executive in Indiana? Certainly at least southern Indiana has a reputation of being a very sort of southern state.

HAYNES: It's the unregenerate south. I remember, when I brought my children back from Iran, taking them downtown in Columbus, Indiana to watch the Ku Klux Klan march down the main street. So ours was a life of contrast. You learned very quickly that there were certain communities that were hostile to blacks. For example, while we were living there in the early 1970s, some bigoted whites boarded up a house where a black man was living with a white woman and set fire to the house in neighboring Seymour, Indiana.

Q: Ugh!

HAYNES: And I had always been told that the Klan was founded in southern Indiana.

Q: I believe that's correct. When I think of Indiana and I think of the south, I think during the — particularly during the '20s.

HAYNES: Yes.

Q: Indiana was sort of the centerpiece, not, not the Gary, Indiana, and all that, but down south.

HAYNES: Exactly.

Q: I mean it's sort of odd that it's not — it seems Midwestern, but it really isn't.

HAYNES: Southern Indiana is more like Kentucky which it neighbors.

Q: Well, okay, now how did you find being a black man in that area, but being in a high executive position? I mean were there country clubs? How did this work?

HAYNES: There were several of us blacks in the company in executive positions all because the chairman of the board, J. Irwin Miller who was liberal, although politically a Republican. He set out to create what was referred to as an “oasis in the prairie” to set an example to communities all around. And, as the most powerful citizen of the area in and around Columbus, Indiana, he influenced and made life comfortable for those of us who were not white.

Q: Well —

HAYNES: I mean we had no — we had no problem buying homes, living in neighborhoods with white neighbors, sending our children to schools.

Q: I speak as someone who doesn't come from that culture, but so much of corporate life seems to center around the country club. How did that work?

HAYNES: When the company owns the country club —

Q: (laughs) Okay (laughs). That kind of — that —

HAYNES: That's a simple solution to what might have been a problem.

Q: Yeah. How about school for the kids?

HAYNES: We sent our children to private school for elementary school and to parochial school — Catholic elementary and middle school. Because, as you may recall, the Catholic Church at the time was in the forefront of integrating education, much to the dismay of many of the non-Catholics around. But Catholics in the Midwest had been the victims of prejudice because of their religion, and I think that may have been one of the things that encouraged the Catholic church in the Midwest to take a very progressive and racially integrated approach to education.

Q: Well, how about just — not really on the racial side — but how did you find the culture of the engine company? I mean, you know, this is not the sort of thing you've been dealing — it's a different world, isn't it?

HAYNES: It is very much a different world. But remember, this was a major Fortune 500, multinational company. So, in every one of my executive positions with the company, I was traveling around the world and did not feel what might otherwise have been the culturally stifling environment of a small Midwestern town. And ultimately, I was posted abroad.

Q: Okay, well let's talk about — you were in Tehran from when to when?

HAYNES: Let me think now. '75 to '77, just before the Shah was overthrown.

Q: Well, when you went out there, were you getting any premonitions of impending doom or not?

HAYNES: Not initially. However, over a very short period of time it became abundantly clear within months of my arrival in Tehran, the Shah was in trouble. There were some indicators. For example, the Shah never went anywhere in his own capitol in an automobile. He always went from place-to-place in a helicopter. There were always three helicopters on the landing pad when he approached, and it was only at the last moment that he decided which one he would take. So nobody but the Shah himself knew in which one of the three helicopters he was when all three helicopters took off. Also when we first got there it was abundantly clear that it was not safe to be critical, even in private conversation, of the Shah. And certainly not even critical before your own household servants. But, in a short period of time, suddenly there were a profusion of jokes about the Shah and how stupid he was and how shaky he was on the throne — something that I never heard when I first arrived. And these were just minor indicators, minor but important indicators of, of how uneasy he was on the “Peacock Throne” of Iran.

Q: Well, did you have any concern about the huge presence of American technicians and all in the country?

HAYNES: A lot of concern. For example, while we were there, shortly after we arrived, there were three American executives from North American Rockwell Company that supplied military planes to the Iranian Air Force, who were ambushed on their way to work and assassinated. As a result, whenever I went from my home to my office I chose different times of day and different routes. And, in this connection, I had a driver, a chauffeur, who drove me to work and drove my children to school and who actually lived in our compound. The very day that these North American Rockwell executives were assassinated, he didn't show up for work. And he never showed up for work thereafter, never even coming to collect his wages. And that made me very uneasy, I can tell you,

because while I couldn't prove it, I had to think that there was more than just casual significance to his failure to turn up for work the day these men were killed.

Q: Boy. Did you have much contact with the embassy?

HAYNES: Yes. I belonged to a group of American businessmen in Tehran who tried unsuccessfully on several occasions to meet with Richard Helms who was the ambassador at the time to tell him of our concerns for the deteriorating security situation that we were seeing in the capitol. But Ambassador Helms refused to see us.

Q: I mean that seems — yeah, normally an ambassador has close ties with the business community — American business community. That's part of his job. I mean this is not —

HAYNES: But unfortunately, a whole succession of American ambassadors had closer ties to the Shah and his cohorts than to the American business community. As a result, the American Embassy in Tehran ultimately ended up having a vested interest in perpetuating the myth that the Shah was not in trouble. It's not unusual sometimes for an ambassador — unfortunately — to become so enamored with his host government that he is uncritical.

Q: Yeah, well there's a story going around — you probably heard it too — about one of our ambassadors, political appointee to Morocco, who referred to the king as “our king,” you know. . HAYNES: I've heard that. Also a similar story about a couple of our ambassadors in Saudi Arabia.

Q: Yeah. I mean this is of course “localities” gone mad, but the — I mean later you were in a — as an ambassador you could understand, I guess your ruler — who was the ruler when you were there in Algeria?

HAYNES: Houari Boumedi#ne.

Q: He wasn't a very lovable person, I guess.

HAYNES: No, he was pretty much a dictator. Algeria was, when I was there, and still remains to this day, a totalitarian state.

Q: Well, we'll come — obviously come back to that. What was life like in Tehran when you were there?

HAYNES: It was unbelievably social. It was as if Iranians and the expatriate community knew that the end of the Shah's rule was eminent and, my God, the dinner parties, the socializing, the women — I saw Iranian women who love jewelry, taking their jewels out of their bank vaults and wearing them at these dinner parties. It was breathtaking. You've never seen such socializing. And of course at the same time, a lot of the very wealthy Iranians were, were sending their money, and these women were taking their jewels, out of their country. Many of them went to the South of France, and a lot of them came to the Los Angeles area. To the point where today Los Angeles is referred to by Iranians as “Tehrangeles”.

Q: Oh my God, yeah.

HAYNES: There are so many wealthy Iranians currently living in, in Los Angeles, all of whom made their wealth during the time of the Shah.

Q: Well now, did your company employ many Iranians in Iran?

HAYNES: Well, I was there as it — not because we employed that many. I was there in Iran because it was a convenient base from which to communicate with the Arab world and Africa. At the time, Lebanon was in upheaval. Actually, I was supposed to set up an office in Beirut, but there was so much strife going on in Beirut that we changed our plan and moved the office to Tehran. But it wasn't that we had so many employees there. It was that the Iranian market was such an important one for us, both military and commercial. Just before I arrived we had sold 4,500 Cummins engines to Iran in International Harvester

trucks. And that of course meant that we had considerable commercial interests in Iran that the company was interested in preserving and protecting.

Q: In the Arab world did you have ties to Iraq, or was that a Soviet satellite?

HAYNES: We didn't do that much business with Iraq. We did a huge amount of business in Saudi Arabia, where we had a major Saudi distributor. And in Beirut — in Lebanon also. Trying to think where else. And that was — that was a major —

Q: How'd you deal with Israel?

HAYNES: Well, the Arab nations, not Iran, but the Arab nations had a boycott of companies that dealt with Israel. And even though we continued to deal with Israel, because of the importance of our businesses to their commercial development, the Arab nations never enforced that boycott. It was a selective boycott, as they often tend to be.

Q: Yeah, I know. How'd you find dealing with Saudi Arabia? I know they all require a partnership or a sponsor or something?

HAYNES: Oh yes. At that time, I couldn't even visit Saudi Arabia on business without being invited by one of our Saudi business collaborators. I had to have an invitation from a Saudi. Just couldn't go there for tourism or, you know, casually.

Q: Mm-hmm. Well —

HAYNES: IT was a very closed society as it remains today.

Q: How did you find doing business there?

HAYNES: It's very different from doing business in the United States, because — and this is true of most of the rest of the non Anglo-Saxon world. Time is precious for us Americans and Anglo-Saxons. We come, we have business to do, we do it in a certain period of time,

and we get out. That's not true in the Middle East. To this day, you go, you spend days drinking coffee and chatting about nothing of relevance to what you brought you there. And they take the lead in the discussion. You don't determine when to start talking business.

Q: No. There's the old —

HAYNES: Difficult to get — and this of course created problems back home where majority of the people you were dealing with back at your headquarters in the United States, particularly in Columbus, Indiana, didn't understand why it took so much time to conduct business in the Middle East.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: Why can't you get these people to agree to something that's in their interest? It doesn't work that way.

Q: Yeah. No.

HAYNES: By the way, the conduct of foreign policy is very much conducted in the same cultural manner from their point of view.

Q: Well, did, did you have much business in other parts of — well, I mean, how about Egypt at the time?

HAYNES: Yes. Egypt was less important. But yes, we had a distributor in Egypt. We had distributors in the United Arab Emirates, in Oman. All of these were countries that I visited during that time in, in the conduct of the company's business.

Q: Well, were you doing business in sort of Sub-Sahara Africa too?

HAYNES: Yes, very much so.

Q: Now how was that going?

HAYNES: Well, it was, it was growing rapidly. We had distributors in Senegal, in the Ivory Coast, in Ghana, Nigeria, Gabon, Angola, South Africa and Kenya. That was a very interesting diplomatic challenge too, because at that time Angola was very much in the Soviet camp. I traveled to all of these places during my time in charge of that region.

Q: Well, did you have programs of training mechanics or was it unnecessary?

HAYNES: We helped our distributors develop local training programs. It was very important that we maintain the quality of our engines by having trained mechanics on the spot. And that was also a cultural challenge particularly in the oil rich countries of the Middle East. When something broke down the Arabs just threw it away. They didn't repair it. They bought a new one. And that's what they did that with their own automobiles. As you drive through Saudi Arabia you could see very expensive cars abandoned in the desert, some of them only had a flat tire.

Q: Well —

HAYNES: Part of the job was to inculcate in our customers the importance of preventive maintenance of the engine and of timely repair.

Q: Well, I would think also, I mean, you know, part of our whole system here in the United States is when you get something there's a supply of spare parts. You know, if your car goes down, they'll pull up a Chevy gear or something like that. You know, these are all pretty much available.

HAYNES: Yes. The sale of spare parts was a very important part of our business.

Q: I would think you'd have all sorts of problems with customs and that sort of thing. I mean everybody's hand is out for a bribe.

HAYNES: Well, it depends on who you're dealing with. If you're dealing with the government, no problem with customs. If you're dealing with a very powerful, a local businessman, no problem with the customs.

Q: Of course I would think with a Cummins engine that you would be — it would be sort of a wide open market for these, because there's so much need for generation of power and all, all over the place, because there's —

HAYNES: Oh no. No, we had competitors. Caterpillar was a competitor. We had Japanese competitors, Chinese competitors. It wasn't a captive market for us.

Q: What about the French? The French were always difficult in business or politics and how did you — were they in the market?

HAYNES: Much less — from the point of diesel engines, much less than the Americans. But the major difficulty with the French was not — was not on their side, and I'm coming back to something I've touched on before, the enormous inability of American businessmen to deal in a foreign language, even one as popular as French. That puts us at a distinct disadvantage in doing business with countries where the working language is French. And in much of Africa that is the working language. But you know, we've got to go back to deal with a basic and fundamental problem in our public education system where the study of foreign languages is disappearing. It's incredible that in this day and age, when the need is greater than ever before, the availability of foreign language instruction is shrinking in our country.

Q: Yes. You left in what, '78, just before the Shah left?

HAYNES: I left in '77.

Q: '77. Was there a really feeling of relief? Were you getting out because of the situation?

HAYNES: Yes, the situation was so critical and dire that I didn't ask the company for permission to come home with my family; I told them that we were evacuating on a certain date and shutting down the office. And we did so several months before the overthrow of the Shah, and were able to get out intact unlike many expatriate Americans who waited much too late.

Q: Did you just plain shut down your business or were you dealing with it from outside?

HAYNES: Well, our distributor was still there. So, yes, in effect, we were dealing with it from outside.

Q: How did your distributor fair?

HAYNES: Oh, he ultimately had to shut down and flee the country.

Q: What happened to all the Cummins engines?

HAYNES: I have no idea. But I suspect that they're all sitting in a graveyard somewhere. I don't know whose engines the Iranians are using for their trucks in their oil industry. But, they're not using Cummins engines.

Q: Well, when you came back in '77 what'd you do?

HAYNES: Well, I hadn't been back more than a couple of weeks when I had a call from the White House asking me if I would be interested in an ambassadorial appointment.

Q: Well, had you been keeping up your political ties?

HAYNES: Keeping up? I had many friends in the State Department, going back to my early days, and I had one benefactor who remembered me well, and that was W. Averell Harriman. He was no slouch when it came to pushing his secretary of state or his

president. He was very much the respected elder statesman. And he was the one who recommended me for the post of ambassador to Algeria.

Q: Now, this is during the early Carter administration.

HAYNES: Very early Carter.

Q: Had you ever had any contact with Carter before?

HAYNES: None. And I never had contact with him face-to-face until after he left the presidency and after I had ceased to be an ambassador. Carter, you may recall, dispensed with the practice of meeting his ambassadors before they took up their overseas posts. It was regrettable, because those meetings produced, if nothing else, a photograph of the ambassador shaking hands with his president, which was a very impressive item in the ambassador's office when foreign visitors came.

Q: Yes.

HAYNES: But, Carter — just as he dispensed with meeting his ambassadors — did not serve liquor at state dinners or at any official function in the White House. He was a strange duck.

Q: How did Algeria come bubbling out of the thing? Did you ever find out how that worked?

HAYNES: President Carter had set up a committee of elder statesmen to make ambassadorial recommendations for political ambassadorial appointees to him. And this is because he had no background in foreign affairs, and no direct personal contacts with anyone in foreign affairs. Remember, he'd only been governor of Georgia. So he was pretty dependent on this committee to make ambassadorial suggestions to him, most of which he followed. Also, Algeria at that time was supplying 10% of the United States' imported crude oil. A significant amount.

Q: Yes.

HAYNES: And also, the Algerian government had broken diplomatic relations with the United States over, if memory serves me U.S. support for Israel in the Six Day War. So we had not had an ambassador there for a long time. I believe the last ambassador prior to this break in relations was Dick Parker. Remember Richard Parker?

Q: Oh yes, he just died.

HAYNES: He just died —

Q: Actually, Dick Parker was the first president in my little Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training here.

HAYNES: He was a great scholar of Middle Eastern affairs and culture and a very well respected man. And I was the first American ambassador after the resumption of diplomatic relations. And the Algerians had a very interesting policy. They scrupulously respected and encouraged Algeria's commercial relations with the United States, and equally so encouraged their military relations with the Soviet Union. So they were walking a very difficult thin line, but they did it very well.

Q: Well now, prior to — I mean obviously they got to go through congressional hearings and all that.

HAYNES: Yes.

Q: How did you prepare to go to Algeria?

HAYNES: Well, you know, as someone who was addicted to international news, I didn't have to do very much preparation. I knew what the major issues of concern were between the United States and Algeria. And I had lived in Tunisia at the time of Algeria's independence. So I had lived through a period of very important modern Algerian history

and nation building. So I didn't need to do a lot of preparation. Certainly among the more interesting people that I had to deal with in my hearings was Senator Richard Lugar. I found him both knowledgeable and well prepared for my hearing.

Q: Mm-hmm.

HAYNES: I had and still have the greatest respect for Senator Lugar. He is a very, very fine statesman, in addition to being an excellent senator. Also participating in my hearing was Senator Jacob Javits from New York who was in declining health.

So, in my senate hearing I was up against some heavyweights. Not against, I was in front of some heavyweights. They were a very friendly group.

Q: Well —

HAYNES: Didn't want to give you the impression they were adversaries.

Q: Well, was this a period where we were — was either side pushing to reestablish relations, or was it mutual, or how was this working?

HAYNES: Both sides wanted to reestablish relations.

Q: I would think that the Algerians — I mean they had this, this tie that goes back to 1830 with, with the French, and they would be happy to bring somebody else in so they wouldn't be — have to sort of be, if not subservient, but have to be overly careful about their relations with the French.

HAYNES: You would think so. But, the residue of French culture and a respect for France and everything the French represented remains in Algeria to this day, and existed after independence. Look at the huge number of Algerians who have emigrated to France. They are the single largest number of Muslims in France to this day. And Algeria maintained, and still maintains, important commercial ties to France. And, I might add, one of the most

important ties, oddly enough for a Muslim country, is supplying France with table wine. Much of the table wine that one drinks in France, when you go to a caf# or a bistro, comes from Algeria to this day.

Q: What were our interests in Algeria when you were getting ready to go there?

HAYNES: Well, obviously we did not want Algeria meddling in the Arab/Israeli crisis in a way that jeopardized our interest. And then of course we wanted to protect our access to Algerian oil and gas. Very important.

Q: You went there in what, '77?

HAYNES: Yes.

Q: What was the situation in Algeria, sort of politically and economically when you went there?

HAYNES: Well, Algeria has never had a very strong domestic economy. Politically, it was very oppressive. It was a police state, clearly.

Q: Well, how about the fundamentalist, Islamic fundamentalist? Was this the factor that it later became or —

HAYNES: Not at all. They didn't exist at that time.

Q: What sort of questioning did you get through the Senate?

HAYNES: Very polite. They handled me extremely gently. Nothing that indicated to me that they had a great understanding of American relations with Algeria, or a great interest. Remember, at that time, the Cold War was preeminent among the interests of most American foreign policy experts.

Q: How did you find the people dealing with Algeria in the State Department treated you? Because you weren't the normal political appointee. I mean you'd certainly been around the block.

HAYNES: I called myself an “inside outsider.” I already knew so many of them. Harold Saunders, who was then the assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern Affairs had been a graduate student when I was a law student at Yale. And we served together on the National Security Council staff. So, I knew a lot of the people that I was dealing with. And that was a help. However, I will never forget, after having arrived in Algeria at the end of June, my first really official function before I presented my letters of credentials, was hosting the American embassy Fourth of July celebration. And as I passed — on the grounds of my own embassy residence — as I passed a group of American embassy wives I heard this snip of a conversation. One wife said to the other wife, “Have you seen what Washington sent us this time?” And the other wife replied, “Yes. And I'm not going to have it in my house.” They were talking about me and my appointment.

Q; Oh, my God.

HAYNES: And the fact that I was a black ambassador, which was still pretty rare. You know, I was — while Algeria's considered the Near East in the State Department, it was not a typical appointment for a black ambassador.

Q: No, no, I — yes, the — well —

HAYNES: Let me tell you how I dealt with that one.

Q: Yes.

HAYNES: One of my first official acts was to schedule a tour all of the American embassy residences rented or owned in Algiers to give the lie to the Embassy wife who said that I

would never set foot in her house. Sure enough, when I got to her house, she did not offer me so much as a glass of water.

Q: Oh, my God.

HAYNES: And I'm going to tell you, it's — from my point of view, that wrecked her husband's career. Because as soon as I could, I decided we could not afford to have an American family with this kind of prejudice representing us abroad, and I arranged for his transfer. It's something that we just cannot tolerate.

Q: Absolutely not. I mean, you know, badmouthing and, I mean you're just not getting the full cooperation.

HAYNES: Well, not only — not only that, but if she had that attitude toward her ambassador, what did she think of the Algerians?

Q: Oh, my God, yes.

HAYNES: And I must say, I wasn't far from wrong. Not long afterwards, we constructed a swimming pool for the embassy staff and one of the administrative officers came to me and said he was speaking on behalf of the American families who did not want to have Algerians swimming in the same swimming pool with them. I was dumbfounded. When I recovered I said, “Listen. Do you know to whom you're addressing this request? You're addressing this to someone who as a little boy couldn't swim in public swimming pools because of the color of his skin. And you want me to turn around and treat other people the same way? Get out of here!” I was furious!

Q: (sighs) How were you received when you arrived there?

HAYNES: (laughs) With surprise. I'll give you a funny anecdote. When I presented my letters of credentials to President Boumedi#ne in the presidential palace I was accompanied by my DCM who was white. And as I approached the president to present

my letters of credentials, he extended his hand to my deputy, rather than to me. And I said, “Excuse me, Mr. President, but I'm the ambassador.” I cannot tell you how embarrassed he was. And I later used that to my advantage. Thereafter, whenever I requested an appointment with the president, I got it. He was so embarrassed. But, hey, we have ourselves to blame too.

Q: Oh yes! Well, okay, here's a country and we've been — well, actually we've gone about 14 years without relations, weren't they?

HAYNES: Oh, I don't remember the exact number of years.

Q: But I mean anyway, significant number. What was there to do to sort of get the machinery running again?

HAYNES: Not very much, because during this time our commercial relations had prospered, and there were many American oil executives based in Algeria. And this was a sector, as I said, the Algerians were very intent on maintaining with the United States. It took a little more doing to develop military relations, or as we call them, defense relations, and political relations with the Algerians. The one thing they did not want the U.S. meddling in their internal political affairs, and this was one of the problems that they had with the Soviets who were a little bit heavy handed in this respect. But, in no time, I'm proud and happy to say, our embassy became a very popular place for Algerians, and a very important listening post for me. One of the reasons for this is attributable for my wife, Yolande, who decided that she would open a snack bar in an empty embassy garage adjacent to our chancery, because our staff lost precious time driving home to lunch every day. And that took a big chunk of time out of their workday. So she set up a snack bar and very quickly that snack bar became a popular place for middle level and some senior level Algerian officials to come for a quick bite to eat at lunchtime. And I'll tell you, quite frankly, it was probably a most important listening post to find out what was going on in Algeria.

Q: No, but I mean just —

HAYNES: The mood of the country.

Q: Well, I can understand why — I mean this is before the great influx of the McDonald's on the other thing. I mean the French, of course, had this tradition of a two to three hour lunch and all, which an awful lot of businesspeople, including the French, found a bit much.

HAYNES: Exactly.

Q: And going and having a hamburger or hotdog or something —

HAYNES: Exactly.

Q: — you know, and sitting down, and you could have actually a pleasant lunch and leave in half an hour or so.

HAYNES: Exactly. And in fact, we had other embassy — other ambassadors from other embassies actually came to have lunch. The French ambassador was a regular. And it was a very lovely setting because we had people sit outside in the garden. So, it was a nice place to even come for a cup of coffee.

Q: How about your dealings with the French?

HAYNES: A lot, and they were very cordial. I had very good relations with the French ambassador.

Q: Were there any — we're often rivals commercially. I mean was this a problem or?

HAYNES: No, the French were getting the lion's share of Algerian oil. We were getting 100% of Algeria's natural gas, which was very important. But our commercial interests with the French were complementary, not competitive.

Q: As ambassadors go, very few come in with the international experience that you'd had in, sort of in the business world. Did you find this stood you well?

HAYNES: It was enormously helpful, enormously helpful. It gave me credibility with the American business community in Algeria, as well as with the Algerians dealing with that community.

Q: Well, as a new, newly open representation, were you able to set up the equivalent to the American Chamber of Commerce and relations with that?

HAYNES: There was an American businessmen club, not a Chamber of Commerce.

Q: How did you find that? Was this a good instrument to deal with?

HAYNES: It was a very important source of information — firsthand information about our commercial relations with Algeria.

Q: I mean were there sort of problems with Algerian bureaucracy and all in getting things done?

HAYNES: Oh, it didn't function like the American bureaucracy. It was excessively bureaucratic, if I can use that term again. But problems? No, we didn't have major problems.

Q: How about the Polisario movement? What were we doing with that?

HAYNES: My instructions from the department were that I was to have no direct contact, nor official contact with the representatives of the Polisario in Algeria. However, it was

impossible to go to a diplomatic reception without running across them. I did not publicly shake hands or engage them in conversation. But I do recall on one occasion being invited to dinner at the home of a senior Algerian Foreign Ministry official, a dinner party at which the Polisario was present. Now, you can't be stupidly — how can I say — political in situations like that, and walk out, or refuse to say good evening. No, I — yes, the Polisario was very much present, very active, and I dare say, very effective and well supported by the Algerians.

Q: I mean obviously you were getting information on them, what was your reading on this movement?

HAYNES: I must say that, to this day, I consider the Polisario to be a legitimate independence movement. I had visited what was then the Spanish Sahara with Soapy Williams way back in the early 1960s. And I remember our conversation with the, with the local Sahraoui administrators in which they were looking forward to being an independent nation. Remember that, I think it was the Green March —

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: — or the Great March. When Hassan II, King Hassan II in Morocco just took hordes of Moroccans and marched them into this former Spanish Sahara and took it over. And in the proceedings before the International Court of Justice it has been declared an illegal takeover. And, and the Moroccans have successfully resisted complying with the Court's ruling to this day.

Q: Did you have relation with our ambassador in Morocco, for example, or?

HAYNES: Our ambassador?

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: Oh, I knew him — at the time - it was, Angie Duke, Angier Biddle Duke.

Q: Ah-ha.

HAYNES: And he too was a friend from beforehand, so we had very close relations. And Angie, like many, many American ambassadors, had a bad case of “localities”. He was a firm supporter of the Moroccan monarchy. They could do no wrong.

Q: Yeah, that's — coming back to Dick Parker, he, being absolutely fluent in Arabic, apparently knew too much and was persona non grata.

HAYNES: In Morocco.

Q: In Morocco.

HAYNES: Very much so. He got to know them much too well and made them feel uneasy. He spoke their language. He spoke not just Arabic, but he spoke Maghrebi Arabic, their kind of Arabic. Which made them very, very uneasy.

Q: I'm told — somebody in one of my oral histories was saying the story was that in Algeria when Dick was ambassador there, there was a Cabinet meeting and Dick was present talking about things, and at one point Boumedi#ne turned to his Cabinet and said, “How come the American ambassador speaks better Arabic than you do? Most of you speak French,” you know (laughs).

HAYNES: That's right. No, he was, he was absolutely fluent.

Q: Yes.

HAYNES: And, I daresay he was beloved by all Algerians who had nothing to do with — and if they didn't love him, they respected him, which was just as important.

Q: Well, let's see. You were there. How were the Algerians seeing the Americans at this point?

HAYNES: Oh. They had a, a very important self-interest in maintaining good relations with the Americans. And the proof of the pudding was that they were willing to serve as our intermediaries years later in the Iran hostage crisis. And they did a magnificent job.

Q: You were there during this, weren't you?

HAYNES: Very much so.

Q: I'm just thinking this might be a very good place to stop for this section so we can devote more time to your time during the hostage crisis. And you know, some other questions, how'd you find the — I'll put it in here so I can put it in here next time — how'd you find the officers of the embassy and all.

HAYNES: Sure.

Q: All right. Well, today is the 29th of June, 2011 with Ulric Haynes. And Rick, we've started — we're in Algeria. And you were in Algeria from when to when?

HAYNES: From 1977 to the beginning of 1981.

Q: Before we get to some of the other developments, how did you find the embassy staff while you were there?

HAYNES: I was a little disappointed in what I considered to be their lack of background and preparation for their assignments, with the exception of the public affairs officer who later became my DCM. His name is Christopher Ross. His father was Tony Ross, who was a very well known American ambassador, highly respected. Chris had served in Morocco before coming to Algeria and was fluent in Maghrebi Arabic, the Arabic that is spoken in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. He was also quite fluent in French. None of my other

Foreign Service officers were fluent in French and none in Arabic, and that was a major drawback.

Q: I can imagine. Well, then were you and the officers able to get out in the countryside, or was it dangerous?

HAYNES: Oh no, not at all. I traveled extensively even into the Sahara Desert as a guest of the Algerian government down into the Hoggar and the Tassili. And I, my family and I also camped out on some of the beaches near on the Mediterranean coast.

Q: Well was —

HAYNES: Let me modify that with one — in one respect. When President Boumedi#ne fell ill and ultimately died, the restrictions on travel and the police surveillance was quite widespread.

Q: Why? Was there fear of a coup or what?

HAYNES: When Boumedi#ne fell ill?

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: I would suspect that the military, who really have controlled Algeria since its inception, were very conscious of the possibility of forces in the country that were opposed to their government taking advantage of the crisis in leadership. So, they took all sorts of steps to prevent that.

Q: What was the problem with Boumedi#ne?

HAYNES: His illness?

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: Oh, I — I cannot remember what it was ultimately — I don't think we ever really knew what he was diagnosed with. But, he did have a terminal illness and in fact we arranged for an American Military medical unit to come over with a mobile CAT scanner and examine him. And it was, I believe, a brain tumor.

Q: Did we have much, an active information program going on? I'm thinking of contact with the media, placement of things on TV, that sort of thing?

HAYNES: Well, placement of things on TV was virtually impossible because the media and television were very tightly controlled by the government. But we did have quite an effective cultural program. For example, I remember Joan Baez came over to give a concert.

Q: Ah.

HAYNES: And it was very interesting because Joan Baez's father was working in Algeria at the time. Don Baez was his name. And I cannot remember whether he was working with AID or with an American company affiliated with the oil industry. But he was responsible for bringing his daughter over, and our cultural affairs officer and public affairs officer collaborated in making the most of her visit. One of the interesting things about her visit — and I will never forget it — at her public concert, she got the Algerians, who are Muslims and mostly Arab to sing along with her the Israeli national anthem, Hagan Navila.

Q: Ah-ha.

HAYNES: And it was very moving. The audience lit candles or pieces of paper and waved them in the air. Joan Baez struck a very moving blow for Arab/Israeli relations.

Q: Now, in so many of the Arab countries, we're beaten on the head with our relations with Israel. How about in Algeria?

HAYNES: Much less than elsewhere in the Arab world. It is not such a great — in fact, the further away in North Africa you get from the Middle East, the less important it becomes. For example, Morocco, at that time, was the only Arab country that had diplomatic relations with Israel. And to this day, there is a significant Jewish community in Morocco. Indeed, one of the financial advisors to King Mohammed VI is a prominent member of the Moroccan Jewish community. I'm talking about the present king.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: And, in Algeria the president of the Bar Association of the capitol of Algiers was an Algerian Jew. When the French controlled Algeria, early on they gave French citizenship to Algerian Jews, but denied it to Algerian Muslims. As a consequence of which, several enterprising Muslim families in Algeria just changed their religion to Jewish. These were, generally speaking, very well educated Muslims, or Muslims in the business world. The Jewish president of the Algerian Bar Association during my time was Roger Said, S-A-I-D, with an Arab name who was the offspring of one of these families that had just up and changed their religion, as a matter of convenience.

Q: Hm.

HAYNES: Now, another thing that happened while I was in Algeria. Shortly after I arrived, some young Algerian hoodlums took it upon themselves to desecrate the one synagogue that still existed in the city of Algiers. The Boumedi#ne government condemned their act and actually rebuilt, restored the synagogue even though there were not many practicing Jews in Algeria at the time.

Q: How stood relations between Arabs and the Berbers when you were there?

HAYNES: Very tense. The Berbers tended to be more westernized and better educated. Indeed, some Berber families even converted to Roman Catholicism and were practicing Christians. But the tensions arose over the Arab majority's refusal to allow the Berbers

to teach their language or use their language in public schools. It was an attempt on the part of the Arabs to establish the Arab culture as the dominant culture of Algeria. And this is despite the fact that many of the top government officials and particularly civil servants were Berbers.

They did not call themselves Berbers in Algeria. They called themselves Kabyles.

Q: Mm-hmm.

HAYNES: And the region where they were most popular was called the Kabylie.

Q: Was there a problem of, you know, from your standpoint of sort of American be nice to one and not the other, I mean did we get caught in between them or not or did they try to —

HAYNES: No. We maintained good relations during my time with both communities. And on the local embassy staff there were Berbers as well as Arabs.

Q: How about migration to France?

HAYNES: Oh, that was the dream of all young Algerians. And I'm told it still is because of the massive unemployment in Algeria. There just are no opportunities for even university educated Algerians in the country. So France is looked to as a kind of Mecca.

Q: Well, I mean looking at it as an outsider, did you see that the Algerians weren't taking advantage of what I'm told is, you know, very rich soil and real agricultural and other opportunities there, or not?

HAYNES: No. Farming was quite important, but the Algerian government, which called itself socialist, did not encourage the private ownership of the means of production. And as a result, farmland, particularly along the Mediterranean coast that had been considered the

breadbasket as far back of the time of the Romans certainly was not as productive under the independent government of Algeria.

Q: Well, did we get involved with assistance, or did the French get involved with helping with agricultural assistance? Or was it just it was not the methods, but it was just the — sort of the socialist policy that was screwing things up?

HAYNES: It was the socialist policy that was screwing things up. And it continues to do so to this day.

Q: Was there —

HAYNES: There were, you know, in a country that had been virtually self-sufficient in terms of food, there are, and have been since its inception, serious food shortages.

Q: Well —

HAYNES: Indeed, let me just give you a little anecdote. We had a five-acre embassy compound — quite a lot of land. And my wife planted a very extensive vegetable garden, which provided us and some of our embassy staff with vegetables in season. And she also had chickens. Now, all of this, the five acres, could be pretty well concealed without sacrificing the beautiful landscaping of, of the embassy grounds and gardens.

Q: Well, now turning to events outside, how did the initial problem in Iran with the Shah, did that — was that over the horizon and not of —

HAYNES: It was not of great concern. When you say the problems with the Shah, Iran had an embassy in Algeria and Algeria maintained correct relations with the regime of the Shah while I was there.

Q: Well —

HAYNES: You must remember that the Arabs of North Africa and the Middle East do not consider the Iranians as cultural brothers. The Iranians themselves don't like to be confused with Arabs, and Iran doesn't like to be lumped in with the rest of the Middle East. So they had correct, but not warm relations.

Q: Well, when our embassy was taken over, did that put you all on the alert or not, or were you sort of away from that?

HAYNES: We did not at all feel threatened in Algeria by the embassy takeover in Iran, no.

Q: Well, were there attempts by the Iranians to incite the Algerians or not?

HAYNES: No. Iran and Algeria did not have any common ground in the sense of political ideology or anything like that.

Q: Well, this brings us to the Algerian Foreign Ministry. You know, in my time in the Foreign Service they've always been considered to have one of the more professional Foreign Services. Did you find that?

HAYNES: Yes, they were very, very competent. And at the time that I was there, the foreign minister was Mohammed Ben Yahia. He was a very, very competent man who conducted with extraordinary skill the balancing of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and later between the United States and Iran.

Q: How about the Soviets? Their presence there?

HAYNES: Oh, they were quite active, particularly in the area of military relations and military spies.

Q: Did this concern us or not?

HAYNES: We respected the careful balancing of relations that the Algerians maintained because they did so scrupulously and were so conscious of encouraging the commercial relations with the United States.

Q: What did our attach#s think of the Algerian Military?

HAYNES: The general feeling was that they were very competent. At that time it was before the Muslim Brotherhood became active and an internal threat. But, it is to their credit that to this day they have been able to control the Muslim Brotherhood in Algeria. Mostly the Algerian Military was preoccupied with the situation of the Polisario and Morocco in the Western Sahara and with maintaining internal security.

Q: Well, down in that western border, how stood things? I mean could we go down there and look at it, where the Polisario were doing their thing?

HAYNES: We could go down to the Algerian side of the border. But certainly the Moroccans would not allow us across the border into the Western Sahara, which was not legally Moroccan territory. I do remember that Andrew Young, as American ambassador to the United Nations, paid a visit to the disputed region and to the Polisario camps on the Algerian side. I did not.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: I did not because I was instructed by the department not to.

Q: How stood Moroccan relations with Egypt?

HAYNES: I'm not aware that there was any difficulty between their relations.

Q: Yeah, I can't think of any particular reason.

HAYNES: An interesting thing. The Maghreb — Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, not Libya, but Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco — distance themselves from the political problems of the Middle East pretty much.

Q: Well, I mean I suppose that the big event would be all the European tourists descending on you.

HAYNES: In Algeria?

Q: Yes. Or not?

HAYNES: Algerian tourism was not as well developed as the tourism in the neighboring countries of Morocco and Tunisia. No, we did not have a large influx of tourists there.

Q: This is because of government policy?

HAYNES: Well, the development of tourism was not a high priority on the part of the Algerian government. So there were not a lot of world class hotels and there was not an infrastructure in Algeria to accommodate tourists such as there were in Morocco and in Tunisia, even though there were places of enormous touristic value and interest in Algeria, Roman ruins and the Tuareg culture in the Southern Sahara, fascinating, but undeveloped.

Q: Yeah. It does seem like they sort of missed a lot of opportunities to get better employment and better economy and all?

HAYNES: Oh, definitely. I think in the back of their mind was that they did not want to see an influx of former French residents, the pieds-noirs, returning to Algeria as tourists.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: So I think that discouraged them from developing tourism. But as I say, we — my family and I visited some very, very interesting and impressive Roman ruins all along

the Algerian Mediterranean coast. Not as vast and impressive as Leptis Magna in Libya. But, the Romans occupied that entire North African coast. In traveling to Morocco we encountered many, many Roman ruins.

Q: Well, now was there anything to recall the World War II? The American and British, French armies? German armies? Going over that area?

HAYNES: Yes. There were American and British military cemeteries in Algeria. And as I recall on D-Day the British ambassador and I would pay formal ceremonial visits to those cemeteries.

Q: How much were you involved as our ambassador there to doing the negotiations regarding the hostages in Iran? Or was this sort of taken away out of your hands and off and —

HAYNES: Not, not at all. Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher enlisted me particularly in the last 14 days of the negotiation process as an active participant in his negotiating. And prior to that, I had suggested that the Algerians be considered as intermediaries because we had broken diplomatic relations with Iran, of course. The Algerians had impeccable Islamic credentials as well as impeccable revolutionary credentials. They were acceptable to both sides. For the Algerians this was a chance to play a major role on the world stage.

Q: Well, from your perspective, how did the negotiations — how were they done and how did they work out?

HAYNES: Well, I mean there were enormous logistical problems. Because we did not meet, we could not meet — we the American government side, could not meet face-to-face with the Iranians because we had broken diplomatic relations with Iran — we had to do everything through the Algerians. There was a lot of shuttle diplomacy between Tehran, Algiers, and Washington which was very time consuming and logistically complicated.

Documents had to be translated into Farsi, the language of Iran, English, the language of the United States, French, the working language, I should say — of Algeria, and Arabic, the official language of Algeria. And with all that translation going on, the opportunity for misinterpretation, confusion, delay, was just rampant. And it was in the last month of the negotiations, in December 1980, that I suggested to the department that Warren Christopher, our chief negotiator, and his team come to Algiers to facilitate and expedite these negotiations. Fortunately it was one of those rare instances where the department listened to its ambassador, and our negotiating team did come to Algiers for the last 14 days of the negotiation process. Actually, they came for 48 hours and stayed 14 days.

Q: Uh-huh.

HAYNES: Once Warren Christopher arrived, he realized how — with the clock ticking on Carter's presidency, that time was running out. And time was of the essence.

Q: How did things work out for you all there?

HAYNES: Well, it was a very difficult time because, on the one hand, on the personal level, my family and I were packing up to leave Algiers. And at the same time we had to accommodate a team of I would say — well, let's see — I would say five or six American negotiators. Warren Christopher came over with Hal Saunders, who was the assistant secretary for Near Eastern Affairs, and with Arnold Raphel who later died in a tragic plane crash when he was American ambassador to Pakistan.

The British also sent over the governor of the Bank of England — I believe that was his title, the governor — I believe his family name was Lascelles. He was related to the queen, to her mother, the queen mother. This was primarily because the Bank of England was a depository for a lot of Iranian funds held in banks outside of Iran. It was an exhausting time because we could never sleep in Algiers. When Washington was awake, we had to be awake. When Tehran was awake, we had to be awake. We were at a pivotal, pivotal

point where we had to be awake and on the alert 24 hours a day because of the time differences between Washington and Tehran.

Q: Well, did —

HAYNES: And by the way, one of the interesting things is that I ended up doing a significant amount of translation and interpreting even though Washington, the department, sent over a very gifted bilingual interpreter, Alec Toumayan, who had interpreted for several American presidents. Alec was a highly respected Belgian-born American and an extraordinarily gifted linguist. But, he had to be present at the meetings between the Algerians and the Americans because the Algerians were using French as their working language. And none of the American team members except myself was fluent in French. Again, this was a shortcoming that I've emphasized over and over again. Our pitiful, self-defeating lack of the language competence is something that plagues us to this day. But, if Alec Toumayan was interpreting at meetings that were going on and a document had to be translated from French into English it fell upon me to do it. I didn't even have an embassy secretary who was fluent in French. And the department was unable to send a bilingual secretary to accompany the negotiators coming over from Washington. I was shocked. I was appalled.

Q: My God, no, that's really — does strike home.

HAYNES: And you would think that we would — would have awakened to this basic weakness by now. But I'm afraid it goes beyond the department to the American system of education which does not encourage the study of foreign languages. Unfortunately, there are so many American communities that have tried to establish English as their official language. In the process, they discourage the study of foreign languages. We've got to wake up to this basic weakness in our culture.

Q: Now, were you all looking toward the inauguration date of Reagan? Just prior to it as sort of the goal to be, to be observed?

HAYNES: Oh very definite, very definitely, because Reagan had announced publicly that if a resolution to the crisis was not reached — he would have no choice but to start all over from the beginning with negotiations. And that was a sobering fact, I think, to the Iranians. But what we didn't know, and what has yet to be proven and documented, was the — was it — I believe it was called, in the press, the media, the “October Surprise”. This was the allegation that Reagan and his team had sent people to, I believe, Germany, without the knowledge of negotiators or the Carter administration, to encourage the Iranians to delay the release of the hostages until after Reagan's inauguration as president. Yes, I believe — it was called the “October Surprise” in the media.

Q: Yeah. Well, did you have any contact with the Iranians who were in Algeria?

HAYNES: None, because there was no functioning Iranian embassy. Remember, this was a revolutionary government that had just taken over in Iran and they had not yet appointed new ambassadors. And the Iranian embassy in Algeria was a holdover from the days of the Shah, and there was no ambassador. And it was not a functioning embassy. It was useless. Useless to us in the negotiations process. Furthermore, having broken diplomatic relations with Iran, we were effectively prevented from having any contact with the Iranians.

Q: Well, in the last days what were you up to?

HAYNES: We were working out such things as whether the blocked Iranian funds in American banks, British banks, and other European banks would be released and how, and under what conditions the hostages would be returned to us, whose planes would fly them our of Iran, and so forth. There were all sorts of little details like that.

Q: When did you leave Algeria?

HAYNES: Oh, I left within days of the inauguration of President Reagan. I had submitted my resignation as all American Ambassadors do when there is a change of administration. It had been accepted, and we packed up and we left within a week of the Reagan inauguration.

Q: Well now, did the hostages pass through Algiers?

HAYNES: Yes, the Algerian government sent two Air Algerie planes — Air Algerie being their commercial airline — to Tehran. And they sent two because they did not want the rest of the world to know on which of the two planes the hostages were. So one plane was a decoy.

Q: Why would that be?

HAYNES: Well, they were afraid of someone taking the opportunity to shoot the plane with the hostages out of the air. They were just super cautious. And we respected that caution. So the planes flew from Tehran, as I recall, to Athens to re-fuel, and Athens to Algiers. At about two or three in the morning, all of us negotiating, staff and Algerian officials went to the airport to receive the hostages. We saw the two planes in the air. We did not know in which one the hostages actually were, not until they landed and they opened the doors.

Q: What sort of reception were they given?

HAYNES: Oh, they were treated royally by the Algerians. For example, the Algerians, knowing that they were all Americans and they'd been prisoners for 444 days and not, not — (laughs) not having any alcohol and not having any pork, arranged for them to have ham sandwiches and champagne!

Q: (laughs)

HAYNES: Which I thought was a very sensitive touch. And I'll never forget. Warren Christopher, my wife and I went to the bottom of the stairs, when the door of the Air Algerie plane opened. It took a little while and we were a little concerned, but shortly (the hostages were deciding in what order to leave) our Iranian embassy DCM —

Q: Bruce Laingen.

HAYNES: Bruce Laingen, and the two ladies who had been prisoners, I believe both with USIA, came off with locked arms. It was a very, very moving moment. And recorded on television around the world.

Q: Well, then you left, came back. This would be —

HAYNES: Excuse me. I should mention that Warren Christopher signed the official document acknowledging that all the hostages were accounted for. They were given coffee and juice and some hors d'oeuvres and almost immediately loaded on American Military planes and flown to Wiesbaden, Germany for medical examination before coming to the United States.

Q: Okay, so what about you and your wife and family?

HAYNES: We packed up and left and returned to our home in Columbus, Indiana.

Q: And then what were you up to?

HAYNES: The Cummins Engine Company, where I had been vice president for the Mideast and Africa prior to becoming ambassador, had engaged me again as vice president for International Business Affairs.

Q: In the intervening four years or so, how had Cummins changed, or had it changed?

HAYNES: Oh, it hadn't changed very much at all. It was like going home.

Q: So how long did you do that?

HAYNES: I believe I was there for two years and then I resigned from the company and moved to St. Croix in the Virgin Islands with my family where I became an international business consultant on my own.

Q: How long did that last?

HAYNES: Oh, that was another two years. And then I, I became president of AFS International, the American Field Service international student exchange program.

Q: This is usually at the high school level, isn't it?

HAYNES: At the high school level.

Q: Yes, I've heard very good reports of that. How did you find it?

HAYNES: I found it in organizational disorder. There was financial mismanagement, it was in need of reshaping, which I attempted to do.

Q: How did that work out?

HAYNES: Well, not very well because some of the members of the board of directors of AFS were very embarrassed by some of the mismanagement that I discovered in the time that I was there. And, and it became abundantly clear that I'd lost their confidence and it was time for me to go.

Q: So then what?

HAYNES: Then I was hired by an executive outplacement firm, the top executive outplacement firm in New York City and in the country, Drake, Beam and Morin. And I

stayed with them for about another two years until I was recruited by Hofstra University to become their dean of the school of business. Where I stayed for about nine years.

Q: This is Hofstra University?

HAYNES: Hofstra University.

Q: Where is that located?

HAYNES: Hempstead, New York in Long Island.

Q: How did you find sort of returning to academia?

HAYNES: Doing what?

Q: Turning to academia?

HAYNES: I thought politics — national politics and international politics was bad.

Q: (laughs)

HAYNES: But my God.

Q: (laughs)

HAYNES: I was totally unprepared for the nastiness and pettiness and conniving of academic politics. Have you had the experience?

Q: No, but I've heard people talking about, saying it's so — I think it was Kissinger who was supposed to say, “Because the issues are so small, the conflicts or great,” or something like that.

HAYNES: They are indeed. They are indeed.

Q: What were some of the — was it mainly over distribution over funds?

HAYNES: Academic prerogative, who gets tenure and who doesn't get tenure, and who has a big office, who doesn't have one, who, who gets time off for research, who doesn't, whose teaching load is heavier than who else's. The last thing that the academics seem to be concerned about is the education of the students. Personal prerogative takes front seat.

Q: Oh boy. But you did that for nine years?

HAYNES: My role changed. I became the university vice president for international relations and my principal preoccupation was increasing enrollment of students from overseas. And that was — of the nine years I think that was the last two years. Ultimately I retired from that position and continued to work as a consultant in international student recruitment for Drew University and other institutions.

Q: Ah-ha.

HAYNES: And in that capacity I traveled around — literally traveled around the world.

Q: Were you finding America was a real attraction for students?

HAYNES: Very real. American higher education is very popular and very highly respected around the world, even though our secondary school education cannot complete with such nations as Finland, which ranks first, believe it or not, and the rest of Scandinavia. I believe United States secondary education ranks around twenty-fifth in the world.

Q: I can believe it.

HAYNES: It's deplorable. I mean our own students aren't prepared for university studies, especially when it comes to math and science and foreign languages.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: And, I can't — I mustn't forget history. I'll never forget teaching a group of students in international relations at Rollins College, which is an excellent school here in Winter Park, Florida, not far from my home. We were talking about the ongoing crisis in the Middle East. And I referred to the Ottoman Empire and I saw a look — a blank look on the faces of the American students in the class. And I said to them, “Tell me about the Ottoman Empire.” And it was only the students from abroad who seemed to have any notion. How can you understand what's going on in the Middle East without knowing its history.

Q: It's criminal. Have you sort of continued with this educational bent, or not?

HAYNES: Yes, I continued up until about a year ago when international travel became a physical burden to me. And at the same time, I was an adjunct professor at Rollins College and at the University of Central Florida, and at Florida Southern College.

Q: Have you done any sort of recruiting for the Foreign Service during this?

HAYNES: Oh none, none. I've never been asked and I think it would be quite unusual for the department to go outside its own ranks to recruit.

Q: I mean, you know, if nothing else to talk it up or something.

HAYNES: Oh yes, oh yes. I've talked with many of my students. A couple of them have actually gone into the Foreign Service, yes.

Q: Well, what we're doing here now is part of a process that I hope will eventually penetrate the system, and that is to make both the public, but also the educators, aware of the role of American diplomats.

HAYNES: And to make those within government and, and particularly our elected representatives in the House of Representatives appreciate the role of diplomats and the

importance of training diplomats, above all the importance of training American diplomats. I picked up the newspaper yesterday and see that we've done it again. We've just named a new ambassador to Cape Verde who is a black female. The combination of naivety and racism that goes with such an appointment I continue to find appalling.

Q: Well, that's the political process.

HAYNES: Oh, my God, yes. But you know, here we — we've had two African American secretaries of state (Powell and Rice) and we have an African American president. And that pattern of racism in ambassadorial postings cannot be broken! I just can't understand it.

Q: OK, well I think — Rick, I think this is probably a good place to stop. I hope next time, or some time, when you're in Washington, give me a call and we can get together and chat.

HAYNES: Oh, I would love it! We'll have to break bread together or something.

Q: Yeah.

HAYNES: I rarely get to Washington, but if I ever do you'll be high on the list.

Q: OK, all right. Well Rick, take care and thank you very much.

HAYNES: Not at all.?

ADDENDUM

HAYNES: Stu, after we completed our telephone interview, I realized that missing from my comments to you was any mention of my numerous activities with not for profit Boards of Directors, corporate Boards of Directors, published articles, and other career-related activities.

First of all, I neglected to mention among the positions I held in the mid-1980's was that of Acting President of SUNY College at Old Westbury on Westbury, Long Island, NY. I held this position for a year and a half after leaving the Cummins Engine Company and suspending my business consulting.

The corporate boards on which I served included the Boards of Directors of HSBC Bank USA, American Broadcasting Companies, Rohm and HAAS Company, INNCOM, Reliastar Insurance Company of NY, Pall Corporation, ENVIPCO, Hemmeter Enterprises, and the NY Stock Exchange Individual Investors Advisory Committee.

The not for profit boards on which I served included those of Pratt Institute, Deep Springs College, The Dance Theatre of Harlem, Educational Policy Center, The Louis August Jonas Foundation, and the Salzburg Seminar. In addition, I have been a member of the Council on Foreign Relations for more than 45 years; I believe I was only the second black member of the Council after former Deputy Secretary of State Dr. Clifton Wharton. Similarly, I have served on an Amherst College Visiting Committee as well as a member of the Henry Luce Foundation Asian Scholars Selection Committee and as a member of the United States-South African Leadership Exchange Program (USSALEP). I have served as a member of the NY State Central Pine Barrens Joint Planning and Policy Commission.

In the field of higher education, I am currently a member of the Advisory Boards of the Middle Eastern Program and its Islamic Studies Program of the University of Central Florida where I am also a Distinguished Visiting Scholar. I have also been a Distinguished Visiting Scholar at Florida Southern College. At Rollins College and at the University of Central Florida, I have also been an Adjunct Professor of International Relations, as well as an Adjunct Professor at the Harvard Business School. At Hofstra University, I have served as Dean of the School of Business and as Executive Dean of University International Relations. I have been a member of The Yale Club of NYC for more than 50 years. I have served as a consultant on international student recruitment to Drew

University and to Stonehill College. I hold honorary doctorates from Indiana University, Butler College, Alabama State University, John Jay College, and Mercy College.

I am listed in Who's Who in America and Who's Who in Black America. In addition to being recipient of honorary degrees, I am the recipient of the Indiana Black Expo Freedom Award, the Martin Luther King Award of the Howard University Law Students Association, the Award for Excellence in International mediation from the Associated Students of the University of Hawaii, the U.S. State Department Certificate of Appreciation, and other awards. I am also a member of the American Academy of Diplomacy, the Atlantic Council, and a former member of the Council of American Ambassadors.

In the course of my career, I have visited some 65 countries of the world.

Stu, I think this addendum rounds out my professional history. Thank you for your patience.

End of interview